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ABSTRACT

The 1976 and 1977 Community/Junior College Conferences were unified under a single general topic, "The Community College: Its Evolution and Clientele." During the 1976 conference, Raymond E. Schultz provided a historical perspective of community college teachers and teaching and Richard L. Storinger described the establishment and growth of Oakton Community College, emphasizing the student development model, the cluster system, the interdisciplinary approach to instruction, and the non-academic orientation of the college. The 1977 conference looked at the variety of community college clientele with special characteristics and needs. Benjamin R. Wygal's presentation focused on responding to the needs of diverse clientele, drawing upon the experiences of Florida Junior College at Jacksonville. Then, Frank G. Pogue led a discussion on the social characteristics of rural and urban poor Blacks and suggested ways for the innovative community/junior college to tap this viable student market. Finally, Robert F. Kronick examined the psycho-social characteristics of the incarcerated, describing the operation of the judicial and penal systems, education in prison, and parole. The conference proceedings include a roster of participants. (AYC)

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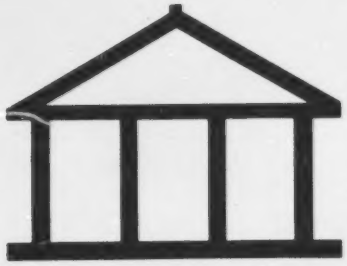

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Preface

K. OWEN MCCULLOUGH
Editor and Planning Committee Chairman
University of Tennessee, Knoxville
June, 1977

Within the last three decades no institution has had more to do with redirecting the emphasis of higher education than the community college. All across the United States, people from every age and ethnic group, from every educational attainment level, from every economic background have discussed the colleges with the open doors and beckoning programs. Even in these years of dwindling or stabilizing higher education enrollments, the people and the people's colleges are finding each other in constantly increasing numbers, thus creating a vast interdependent network, a thriving symbiosis based on the expressed wants and sometimes unexpressed needs of a diverse clientele heretofore unserved by traditional higher education institutions. This is the phenomenon of the community college, not all things to all people, not an institution that does all that there is to do, but one which does well all that it chooses to do within its own capabilities, its own strengths—an institution working in concert with business and industry, with other educational institutions, other social service and governmental agencies.

In the true sense of the word, the community college is unique, philosophically and functionally unique within the entire higher education spectrum. It represents not only a unique movement, but a unique individuality. No community college is programmatically like another. Their philosophies may be similar, even exact, but their programs must reflect the wants and needs of the communities they serve, and since their communities are different, they must be different.

It follows, then, that community college personnel, especially faculty members and administrators, must be a special, service-oriented, adventuresome breed. Unlike those in junior colleges, four-year colleges, and universities, they have no tradition to give them comfort and no specific mission to give them direction. They are cutting new trails in higher education, and while they are doing that, they are both leading and following an ever-changing, restless clientele.

Recognizing, then, the unique differences which philosophically and operationally define the community college, and, therefore, which attract extremely heterogeneous clientele, the 1976 and 1977 Community/Junior College Conferences were unified under a

single general topic, The Community College: Its Evolution and Clientele. The 1976 conference accented historical development, provided an elaborate case study, and ended with thoughts about the function of adult educators. The 1977 conference then looked at a variety of community college clientele with special characteristics and needs, clientele which had been generally ignored by more traditional institutions of higher education. The formal presentations of both of those conferences are the nucleus of these *Proceedings*. The presentations are valuable in themselves, but together they provide the reader with an interesting and, in some instances, a highly provocative insight into the past and potential of the community college, a teenager in higher education, active, idealistic, ambitious, with a future still building on the present rather than conditioned by the past. Those exciting times of the '60s and early '70s when fifty new community colleges per year were built are over, but those, remember, were development years. The years ahead should be even more exciting—they are the *doing* years!

1976 and 1977 Community/Junior College Conference Report

EARL RAMER
For the 1976-77 Planning Committee

The 1976 and 1977 Conferences were held on the campuses of Jackson State and Columbia State Community Colleges. These were the sixth and seventh conferences in an annual series beginning in 1971 and involving the collaboration of State Community Colleges, the College of Education of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and other two- and four-year campuses throughout the state, both public and private.

The 1976 Conference gave attention to the community college evolution, the 1977 Conference to clientele diversity. Major presentations from both of these are presented in these *Proceedings* with complimentary copies sent to all participants. Other persons may obtain copies at $2.00 each from the College of Education, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Members of the Conference Planning Committee deserve much credit for their excellent assistance, especially Dr. K. Owen McCullough, who has now been conference director for several years. Members of the committee are listed at another point in the report.

Much of whatever success the two conferences enjoyed may be attributed to those persons who appeared before general sessions and group meetings. These individuals are recognized as follows:

1976 Conference

Major presentations: Raymond Schultz, Professor of Higher Education, University of Arizona; Richard Storinger, Oakton Community College, Morton Grove, Illinois; and Robert Rupert, Los Angeles City Unified School District. *General session participants from community colleges:* John Bell, Don Chevalia, James Ford, Don Goss, Herbert Temple, Harry Wagner, F.E. Wright and William Yates. *Conference group leaders from community colleges:* Martha Scarbrough, Lyle Smith, Marion Smothers, Wayne Sullivan, Jerome Taylor, Jerry Wilkinson and Joel Zachry.

1977 Conference

Major presentations: Frank Pogue, State University of New York at Albany; Ben Wygal, President of Florida Junior College at Jack-

sonville; Clark Tibbitts, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington; and Robert Kronick, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. *General session participants from community colleges:* Charles Branch, Edward Eller, Walter Nelms, Bob Pilkinton, Harold Pryor, Bobby Smith, Patricia Shutek and Charles Sueing. *Other general session participants:* Grady Bogue, Tennessee Higher Education Commission; Charles Fancher, State University and Community College System; William H. Coffield, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; Martha Lyne, Knoxville City Schools; J. Hunter McCarthy, Aquinas Junior College; K. Owen McCullough, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; and Jessie Warren, State Department of Education. *Conference group leaders from community colleges:* Esther Alexander, Al Clark, Hank Cooper, Al Fine, Paul Goldberg, Judy Hector, Gary Herting, Charles Lee, Jessie Nance, and Troy Simpson.

Appreciation must also be expressed to staff of the Bureau of Educational Research and Service of the UTK College of Education, especially Charles M. Peccolo, Director, and staff member Sue Carey, for assistance to Dr. McCullough in seeing the *Proceedings* through editorial and mailing tasks.

As in past conferences, Dean William H. Coffield allocated funds for conference costs, including publication of the *Proceedings.* All conference participants join members of the Planning Committee in conveying thanks.

Participation in these annual conferences has been excellent from the beginning, involving both faculty and administration from all public and private colleges in the state. To all of these persons our appreciation is expressed, as well as to representatives from the central offices of the Board of Regents of the State University and Community College System, the Board of Trustees of the University of Tennessee, the Tennessee State Board of Education, the Tennessee Council of Private Colleges and the Tennessee Higher Education Commission.

Finally, we hope that all participants found the conference professionally stimulating and that this record of their activities will be useful in the improvement of higher education throughout the state.

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A Historical Perspective of Community College Teachers and Teaching

RAYMOND E. SCHULTZ
Professor of Higher Education
University of Arizona

The subject on which I have been asked to address this conference is of long-standing interest to me. First, I have a background in history so it should be no surprise that I think we benefit from a historical perspective. It concerns me that there is so little awareness of the historical roots of the community college development by many who are currently shaping its future. The second reason for my interest in the topic is that I happen to believe that faculty are the key to any educational endeavor. Their commitment to the goals of the institution and how they perform their duties determine more than anything else how well and to what degree an educational institution serves the purposes for which it was created.

To a substantial degree, developments in community college teaching have paralleled closely development of the community college itself. Since teaching and teachers are so interrelated, I will focus on faculty to present a historical perspective of community college teaching. Four periods are used for this purpose.

The first period covers approximately forty years from the early 1900s to about 1940. That was a period when few took seriously the junior college as it was then known. Enrollments were small, private institutions exceeded public ones in number, and most of those junior colleges were located away from centers of population. The curriculum was limited primarily to transfer courses. The student body differed little from that of senior colleges in goals and background, though overall their high school academic records were not as good, and they were not as well off financially as their senior college counterparts.

The faculty, to twist current vernacular, was comprised in large measure of "uppers and downers." The "uppers" were former high school teachers, many of whom desired greater prestige and a less demanding life than teaching high school students. However, because of location or competition, they were unable to obtain positions in senior colleges, so they settled for the junior colleges. The "downers" were former senior college teachers who for various reasons "downgraded" themselves in their eyes to take junior col-

lege positions until something better came along. Added to this was the fact that junior colleges were held in low esteem both by the general public and by senior colleges. It should not be a surprise, given these conditions, that faculty of two-year colleges had a great deal of concern with status and did their best to emulate senior college teachers and teaching.

The second period was the twenty years from 1940 to 1960. It was vitally influenced by World War II and the Korean War. During World War II, two-year colleges were forced to change in order to survive. With young men in the service and young women called upon to enter the labor force in large numbers, enrollments dwindled seriously. Both in an effort to survive and to contribute to the war effort, many two-year colleges, especially those located near metropolitan areas, carried on war industry training. This meant teaching adults on a part-time basis in skill training programs. As a consequence, they became more comprehensive—a change which Koos and others had advocated for twenty years.

With the enrollment of large numbers of veterans following both World War II and the Korean War, further change occurred. It brought a group of older students into the junior college. They represented more heterogeneous backgrounds and goals than did pre-World War II students. Among other things, this reinforced the occupational program emphasis initiated by the training needs of World War II.

There were implications in these changes for staffing and teaching. With the greatly expanded enrollments in senior colleges and universities, two-year colleges were staffed less by refugees from senior colleges or those unable to obtain such positions than in previous years. By contrast, more teachers moved up from high schools. To meet their staff needs, junior colleges actively recruited from this source and often robbed high schools of their best teachers. Another major change near the end of this period was an increase in faculty recruited directly from graduate schools to staff academic courses, and from business, industry, and the trades to staff growing occupational programs. Unfortunately, many who were recruited directly from graduate school saw the two-year college as a way station while obtaining doctorate degrees and positions in senior institutions. Their orientation was, in most cases, strongly academic. They had their share of status and identity problems. One reflection of this was the large number of junior colleges that introduced academic rank during this period—a desire seldom expressed in later years.

Those who staffed the growing number of occupationally oriented courses represented a contrast in background and orien-

tation. Many of them had no graduate degrees and some no undergraduate degrees. They were practically-oriented individuals with specialized technical, vocational, or semi-professional competencies developed in large measure from work experience.

This new mix created conflicts and strains. Academic faculty saw their prestige threatened if not undermined by the growing vocational-technical faculty. After all, they reasoned, what kind of college was it that would harbor on its faculty individuals who had no graduate degrees, let alone no undergraduate degrees! Standards to them meant academic degrees and traditional academic competence. Vocational-technical faculty, by contrast, frequently viewed their academic counterparts as "eggheads" who knew little of the real world and who would starve to death if forced out of their academic niches into the real world of work.

These differences in background and orientation were also reflected in teaching approaches. By and large academic instructors continued to emulate their counterparts in senior colleges. This meant traditional approaches to teaching and evaluation. Instructors of occupational courses approached their teaching in a more pragmatic fashion. They emphasized "learning by doing" and judged results in terms of student attainment of employable skills. Academic faculty, in their effort to maintain a degree of "purity," pressed for as much separation as possible from vocational and technical faculty. Not infrequently this resulted in what amounted to two institutions operating under one roof.

The third period, a highly significant one in community college development, was 1960 to 1970. It was during this period that the term "community college" took on literal meaning. The institution gained wide acceptance both by the public and the higher education community. Enrollments multiplied, and new facilities were constructed at a previously unimagined rate. A most significant aspect of this growth was the establishment of community colleges in urban areas at locations where they served the inner city. Examples of such institutions are found in Memphis and Chattanooga in this state and inner-city campuses in such other cities as Dallas, St. Louis, Miami, and Louisville, to mention a few.

Another development which had major impact on community colleges in the 1960s was the national priority placed on occupational education. The growth of those programs in the late 1950s forecasted this development. Federal legislation provided generous funds to build, equip, and staff facilities for this purpose. In many states, a substantial amount of these funds were channeled into community colleges. The availability of those funds prompted the establishment of community colleges in states which had few or

none previously. This was the golden era of the community college. It is sometimes referred to as the "brick and mortar" period of community college development. New institutions opened at a rate of nearly one every week during this period. The number of public two-year colleges more than doubled, increasing from 405 to 872. But more than bricks and mortar were involved. Student enrollments increased from 566,000 to 2.3 million, over 300 percent, during that decade.

This unprecedented growth transformed the community college. Major changes occurred in the composition of clientele served. The proportion of students enrolled in occupational courses was less than 20 percent in most institutions. The ethnic composition of the student body also changed. Increasingly, it came to resemble closely the make-up of the community served in economic, ethnic, and social characteristics. This meant that institutions located in cities were enrolling greatly increased numbers of students from ethnic minorities and low socio-economic backgrounds. Many attended on a part-time basis, received little financial assistance from their families, and were adults who had been out of school a considerable period of time and/or had not completed high school.

The teaching faculty also underwent significant change. Nationally, two-year college faculty increased from approximately 25,000 in 1960 to 120,000 in 1970 with part-time faculty representing nearly 40 percent of the 1970 total. The adage that "any warm body" could get a teaching position during that period was not a gross exaggeration. Because senior colleges and universities were also experiencing increased enrollments, they became less a source for community college faculty than previously. Further, by the end of this period, many community college administrations felt that they might be better off without research oriented Ph.D.s on their faculty.

By contrast, the past practice of recruiting high school teachers accelerated. Even this did not meet the demand, particularly for the rapidly growing occupational programs, which required stepped-up recruitment from business, industry, and the trades. In an effort to attract such individuals, often from well-paying employment, it was necessary to change the traditional concept for establishing salaries. No longer could a graduate degree and teaching experience be the only criteria. Work experience had to be recognized. A procedure to initiate this change (which is still in common use) was to equate, for salary purposes, relevant work experience by occupational instructors to graduate degrees for academic instructors.

Master's degree holders, direct from graduate school, became a growing source for academic faculty during this period. But administrators were now demanding more than a major in the academic

field. They wanted teachers who were effective in promoting learning, who could relate to the growing heterogeneity of the student body, and who understood something of the comprehensive community college. Universities characteristically responded slowly in meeting this demand. By and large they were more interested in their traditional role of preparing faculty for senior colleges and universities through research-oriented programs. However, early in the period a few universities did respond to the need. I was at one such institution, Florida State University. In 1960 that university introduced a Master's Degree Program for Junior College Instructors. I directed the program from its inception until 1970 when I left the University. By that time, well over 100 students had completed the program, and most of them were teaching in two-year colleges. By the end of the decade, several universities had developed such programs. However, as is so often the case with social institutions, they got tooled up to serve a need about the time the need no longer existed.

By 1970, community college teaching was widely accepted as a career in its own right. No longer was it viewed primarily as a way station to a senior college or university, nor was it available as a port-in-a-storm to those who had failed as faculty at those institutions. It was staffed to an increasing degree by those who wanted to be there and found the work challenging and rewarding. These people represented a range of backgrounds. Many were former high school teachers, and a growing number came directly from graduate school. Many were from business, industry, and the trades, and a considerable number had left successful professional careers outside of education or faculty positions at senior colleges and universities because they wanted to work in a type of institution that emphasized teaching.

Following are a few statistics which reflect these changes. They are from Medsker's nationwide study of full-time, two-year college staff published in 1960 and a similar study of full-time faculty done by Bushnell in 1970. Since Medsker's sample included all professional staff and Bushnell's only full-time teaching faculty, findings of the studies are not exactly comparable, but they do reflect changes in faculty characteristics from 1960 to 1970. Among them are the following:

1. The ratio of doctorate holders among the faculty decreased. Of Medsker's sample 9.9 possessed a doctorate compared to 5.5 of Bushnell's sample.

2. The ratio who possessed NO graduate degree decreased significantly for academic instructors but remained high for occupational faculty. Of Medsker's sample, which was dominated by

academic faculty, one-fourth did not possess a graduate degree. Of the academic instructors in Bushnell's sample, 90 percent possessed a graduate degree. By contrast, only half of the occupational instructors in the Bushnell sample had a graduate degree, and 18 percent lacked a bachelor's degree.

3. The ratio of women faculty remained low and showed no increase during the ten-year period. Medsker reported ... 28 percent of his sample were women, and Bushnell reported that they represented less than 30 percent of his sample.

4. The ratio of faculty who preferred teaching in the two-year college as a career increased dramatically. Only half of Medsker's group had such a preference compared to nearly 80 percent in Bushnell's study te.. years later.

I conclude this review by describing briefly several developments of historical significance which have occurred since 1970. First is the social strife which occurred at the turn of the decade. It brought demands from minority groups for more representation on faculties. They were well aware of Bushnell's findings which revealed that less than 8 percent of full-time community college faculties were from ethnic minorities, whereas over 30 percent of the students being served were from those backgrounds. Administrators have been frustrated in their efforts to correct this imbalance. First, in the past, few from those minorities continued in higher education due to lack of professional opportunities and limited financial ability. Second, senior colleges and universities are usually successful in outbidding two-year colleges for the small pool of qualified ethnic minority seeking faculty positions.

Another important development of this period is a dramatic increase in the number of part-time students. That increase accounts for most of the community college enrollment growth since 1970. Nationally, part-time enrollments now exceed full-time enrollments almost two to one. There has been a corresponding increase in part-time faculty. They now exceed in number the full-time faculty. Factors which have contributed to this growth of part-time faculty are the increase of part-time enrollments and the financial squeeze brought on by inflation and the economic recession.

Until very recently, almost no thought was given to the implications of this phenomenon. Efforts at quality control and upgrading of part-time faculty have been all but totally lacking. They are treated as second-class citizens, receive second-class remuneration, and are not viewed as part of "the faculty" either by administrators or regular faculty. It is my prediction that before the decade ends, this group is going to demand better treatment and, in turn, they will be held more accountable for their performance than at present. The

April 12, 1972, issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education* carried a report that in California a $3.5 million law suit was brought against a community college by part-time faculty charging that the state education code was being violated by paying them half of what regular faculty receive for comparable work and for denying them tenure.

The final development of the 1970s on which I will touch is the low turnover of community college faculties, especially in the academic areas, coupled with limited employment of new full-time faculty. Three factors previously identified are producing this stagnation: (1) little opportunity for or desire of faculty to move; (2) the small increase of full-time students; and (3) administrators caught in the budget squeeze, resulting in the employment of part-time rather than full-time faculty for economic reasons.

As a result, little "new blood" is coming into these institutions, except through the part-time staff. Administrators, in an effort to maintain vitality among the regular faculty, as well as to better serve an increasingly heterogeneous clientele, are emphasizing staff development as never before.

Community colleges approach the 1980s with a full-time faculty that is older, more stable, more satisfied with their role and in many ways better qualified to serve a diverse student body than were their predecessors. As a group they are committed to make it succeed as a teaching institution serving all the people. Yet, there is a serious risk that they will shrivel on the vine unless major efforts are made by them individually and by those responsible for leadership to keep them professionally alive. If that is not done, the widely held hopes and expectations which society has for the community college will be replaced by disappointment, loss of confidence, and, very possibly, some other type of institution.

Building a New Kind of Community College: The Oakton Experience

RICHARD L. STORINGER
Oakton Community College
Morton Grove, Illinois

This paper is a personal narrative, a partly descriptive and partly interpretive account of my experiences at Oakton Community College in Morton Grove, Illinois, just outside Chicago. Our basic effort at Oakton has been to find good, new ideas about education, some that we invent and some that we discover from others, and then to put them into practice. As a result, I believe we are building the kind of professional environment to which some of the best ideas circulating among community college people today can lead. I would like to provide an overview of the college's dynamics to indicate, in an admittedly sketchy way, how that works.

A college needs, first of all, a built-in flexibility to meet its objectives: to be receptive to new ideas and new approaches, and, at the same time, to cling determinedly to the best, proven ideas of the traditional educational processes. It needs to establish an "ecological balance," if you will, that places its philosophy, its administrative structure, its faculty, students, and staff—all its people, all its operations—in supportive alignment with one another.

Oakton had the advantage of beginning from scratch; the college is just six years old, and its administrators set out consciously to create that ecology, one that would avoid the perceived weaknesses in the typical educational experience that were being criticized during the late 1960s in classrooms, faculty lounges, and student protest demonstrations. Opening in 1970, Oakton was one of the few colleges in a position to answer the criticism that the educational establishment was unresponsive. As Walter Cronkite has said in another context, it was a time when "something extraordinary could be done," but "something ordinary usually got done." Oakton was one of the few colleges anywhere to attempt the extraordinary, to put into practice the key ideas that had been developed during the past decade that seemed worth carrying into the next decade and beyond.

That first year, the administrators hired a faculty that provided solid evidence of being excellent teachers. They were committed to students in a personal way, were fundamentally opposed to bureau-

cratic quagmires, and were willing to be persuaded that approaches different from the ones they were accustomed to might be worth trying (or at least were tolerant of others who did try them). Those qualities continue to be dominant in the faculty.

The faculty and administration have worked together to build the college. That involves a commitment to two basic principles. First, Oakton fosters and practices the *student development model* in teaching, counseling, and administration. Second, Oakton is structured not in departments or divisions but in interdisciplinary *learning clusters*, similar in principle to the self-sufficient colleges within the British universities, and, therefore, works actively to promote interdisciplinary approaches to education. These two key ideas, the student development model and the cluster system, are closely integrated at Oakton, and, retrospectively at least, seem inseparable, though a handful of colleges in the country has implemented one or the other of the two.

The Student Development Model

The student development model is a principle particularly suited for open-door community colleges. Its basic educational objective is to help students make fundamental discoveries about themselves in relation to the world they live in; not simply to help students develop particular, disparate skills in academic or vocational areas, but to help them determine, from a realistic assessment of themselves and their opportunities, a set of goals and objectives that integrates the various aspects of their lives. It reflects an effort to work with the total person, to encourage defining and achieving comprehensive, long-term goals. It counts success not by grading curves or numbers of graduates but by its capacity for building the students' ability to function successfully in whatever environment they may enter, and indeed, to participate actively in shaping that environment.

One might say I am describing only what any competent and committed teacher does and always has done; I agree absolutely. But few of us work at colleges that actively encourage such comprehensive efforts. My own past experience is with universities that discouraged them, implicitly if not explicitly. The student development model involves actually providing an administrative structure, a counseling and advising system, a staff development program, and a pattern of incentives for faculty and students to work together supportively.

I can provide only a quick survey of the very extensive way it has been implemented at Oakton. First, the vice president for student development is a key member of the administration, one of the three

top officers of the college. He is a member of the president's cabinet with authority and responsibility equal and directly parallel to those of the vice president for curriculum and instruction; faculty are equally accountable to both vice presidents. That important recognition of the status of student development has key implications in the day-to-day operations of the college. This emphasis is most dramatically illustrated in the roles of the counselors. In the first place, Oakton's "counseling center" consists only of administrative offices and the student activities and job placement offices. The counselors have private offices scattered among the other faculty offices and classrooms throughout the six-building campus, where they are easily accessible to both faculty and students. Oakton has twelve counselors, one for every 250 full-time students, or one for every 500 students on a headcount basis—a rather good ratio. They have faculty status; in fact, they are not called counselors but student development faculty, and they are teachers, having developed an exceptionally popular two-semester sequence of transferable courses in the human potential mode. Each full-time student development faculty member has two such classes (thirty students each semester), who work in small groups to define their own value systems in relation to their educational goals and career plans, while simultaneously learning theories of psychological growth and development. Like many courses at Oakton, this one works as a model of "confluent education"; that is, it attempts to bring together the cognitive and the affective modes of learning, since it regards them as equally valid and important. With these courses, each student development faculty member has direct, intensive contact with at least sixty students each year, besides those he sees on referral or meets through other channels, which are provided for in unusually generous proportions.

Counseling at Oakton is supportive rather than directive. The student development faculty works to help a student outline and understand his options, and then encourages him to *make his own choices.* Following is a sampling of illustrations, both major and minor, to make the point:

ITEM: Student development faculty are not limited to registration and advising duties, as counselors often are; teaching and real counseling make up a major portion of their load. Other faculty share equally in the registering and advising processes, using the student development faculty as resource persons.

ITEM: When they register, students are advised, not required, to take developmental courses if the results of their entering diagnostic

exams and past performance indicate such a need. But if they choose *not* to enroll in those courses, then they are encouraged and supported in their efforts to succeed in the college-level courses they select, through counseling, tutoring, and the use of programmed materials in the learning lab. The message: they can succeed in difficult situations if they choose to do so.

ITEM: The student development faculty is assisted by a group of eight specially trained *peer advisors*, students who are paid as student aides and whose job is to "hang around" in various high traffic locations on campus where they make themselves known to students, provide information on campus activities, and direct students to counselors or administrators who can help them with particular personal or academic problems they might be experiencing. The peer advisors also provide significant help in the registration process.

ITEM: In recognition of the fact that different students learn in different ways, just as different instructors teach in different ways, Oakton publishes an annual directory of courses in which each instructor describes the classroom approach, goals and objectives, and requirements and grading practices for each of his classes; thus students can match their learning needs to what they know in advance will be happening in the classes for which they choose to register.

ITEM: Nothing happens in the student activities program except by student initiative.

These are just a few of the ways that Oakton implements the student development philosophy. It genuinely pervades the college and the faculty, and it has direct impact on students. Student development faculty members not only work with students, but unlike the counselors at every other college I am familiar with, they are fully accepted as colleagues by the other faculty members. They participate extensively in peer advising among faculty wanting to improve their teaching skills, in team teaching situations, and in a multitude of other ways. The student development concept is a major influence on the Oakton faculty's attempt to avoid being another impersonal, product-oriented, mechanistic educational factory. The faculty is personal, informal, humanistic in its efforts, and, though we are temporarily housed in six marginally renovated factory buildings, our students call Oakton the *Unfactory*.

The Cluster System

The student development concept and faculty are, then, integral to the student-centered, innovative, interdisciplinary approach at Oakton. And they are directly related to the second key defining characteristic of the college, the cluster system. Instead of departments or divisions, Oakton is divided into four learning clusters, each administered by a dean, each something like an integrated college-within-the-college. Each cluster is interdisciplinary, containing about thirty full-time and thirty part-time faculty members who represent a variety of teaching styles and all of the academic disciplines and several vocational programs; each cluster is assigned a proportional number of students who ideally (though not actually in practice) might take all of their courses from faculty members in the cluster.

One of the advantages of the cluster system is that it encourages a low-profile administration; Oakton is not cluttered with department heads, division chairmen, assistant whatevers, and lord high everything elses. The college has only twenty-six administrators—of them only nine are line officers—to deal with 122 full-time faculty, an approximately equal number of part-time faculty, and about 6000 students (3000 full-time). Thus, the structure supports an important aspect of Oakton's humanistic approach to education. The small administration avoids establishing an overbearing bureaucracy and maintains the college's open and direct lines of communication. Students and faculty alike know that to get issues resolved they can walk directly through the open office door of a director, dean, vice president, or the president, without first filtering through several numbing layers of minor functionaries. The system allows for quick and direct dealings, and so for accurate and effective communications.

Probably the most important benefit of the cluster system, academically, is that it has prompted a genuine interdisciplinary coloration for many of the college's course offerings. Faculty members are not lumped together by discipline; for the first time in more than a decade of teaching, I find that most of my professional friends and associates do *not* teach English (though I have ample opportunity to meet and discuss issues with those who do). Of the eighteen people with offices near mine, only three teach English. Oakton's faculty does a lot of talking with people in other fields. We discuss our classroom activities, and we find that we share a number of concerns, perspectives, and priorities.

The Interdisciplinary Effect

Many of us, from the very beginning, set out to exploit these

cross-disciplinary contacts by exploring the extent to which we could eliminate those Berlin Walls between the disciplinary compartments our educational systems have artificially created. Before I go further, I should stress that the bulk of Oakton's course offerings involve one instructor meeting one class in the traditional way. Many faculty members do not explore innovative techniques, nor are they pressured to do so; the college values diversity out of recognition that student needs and preferences vary. Those of us who do get adventurous usually do so for only one or two of the five courses we typically teach in a semester, though many of the courses that are not explicitly innovative or interdisciplinary are influenced by the instructors' other experiences. And that is the idea.

The interdisciplinary teaching, which takes a variety of forms, is from my own perspective Oakton's most interesting academic characteristic. The assumption is that instructors often approach different subjects with similar emphases, so that if they integrate their work they can give students broader and deeper insights into whole ideas, unfragmented by the limitations implied in course titles. Team teaching is an obvious way to do this. But we have extended the team teaching concept. A fair number of Oakton's faculty members have taken enthusiastically to teaching what we call *tandem courses*. In a tandem, students register for two different courses that meet in the same classroom in consecutive time slots. The same students must register for both of these courses. Both instructors are present at all times, sharing integrated teaching roles, supplementing each other, rather than dividing the class periods according to subject matter. The two courses "disappear" into each other and create a whole greater than the two parts. For example, I soon will be teaching in tandem an introduction to literature course and a psychology course—a human potential seminar. The tandem is designed for mature women who are returning to school after a layoff of some years (one-fourth of Oakton's students are returning women and a special program has been developed for them). The psychology instructor—a student development faculty member—will be working on such issues as assertiveness training, confidence building, the definition of male-female roles, and so on. As the only man in the classroom, I will be participating in the discussions and lending my point of view, while also providing all the information and practice in literary analysis that I always do. In addition, my reading assignments will be thematically related to one another and to the course's "especially for women" theme. They will illustrate graphically the abstract issues raised in the psychology course, and relate directly to the concerns the women have in their own lives at the moment that

they are stepping into new roles.

Tandems are naturally subject to almost infinite variation. To make a quick list, I have seen tandems involving American literature and American history, psychology and composition, speech and composition, psychology and humanities, political science and literature, and secretarial science and business principles. In addition, Oakton's faculty has developed *triads*—combinations of *three* courses and instructors. One in which I was involved was developmental in its approach; it included the human potential seminar along with composition and social science for students worried about their skills as they made the transition to college and to adult careers. Another triad combined biology, earth science, and social science courses. Nobody yet has been more ambitious than combining *four* courses—four instructors meeting the same twenty-five students for the equivalent of four consecutive class periods. The four-course package in which I was involved, "Focus: Chicago," was developed as part of our urban studies program, and it included three distinct disciplines. Here students studied fiction by Chicago authors; political science emphasizing state and local government; natural science emphasizing ecology; and humanities, covering the painting, music, architecture, and other arts as practiced in Chicago. As a bonus, students could elect to earn composition credit on a tutorial basis, since they wrote enough papers to justify that approach. In a weekly, all-afternoon field trip, we might stop to see a variety of architectural landmarks, or an art exhibit, on the way to visiting an alderman who would talk to the class about machine politics (this is Chicago, remember) and the problems of getting anti-pollution legislation through the City Council. Another four-course package was conducted entirely on an independent study basis.

All of these course combinations that I have described, and in fact all of the courses that we offer in any form at Oakton, are transferable, and conform to descriptions in the college catalog; we find it is possible to accomplish all the objectives of a course while emphasizing particular themes and teaching methods.

I have given a terribly superficial survey of the kinds of course offerings Oakton's faculty has developed. I have not mentioned the interdisciplinary Green Turnip Survival Program; the artist-in-residence course; the artist lecture series that serves as the "textbook" for a humanities survey; the values program; the computer-assisted instruction methods being developed on an interdisciplinary basis; the self-paced, programmed courses; or the modular scheduling that allows students to select portions of courses from among a variety of instructors and related topics to earn credit in a single

course. All of these reflect the impact of both the cluster system, which encourages interdisciplinary efforts, and the student development model, which teaches a respect for the various ways in which students learn. Thus, there is a fine atmosphere at Oakton that encourages faculty to continue learning—learning what other faculty members have to teach their students, learning from their teaching methods—and so becoming more informed, more skillful, more effective teachers in their own classrooms.

The Non-Academic Effect

Clearly, for the academic program to develop as it has, there must be a high level of trust among faculty members and administrators. It is not unusual for an administration to accommodate faculty members who want to extend themselves into new kinds of teaching programs; it requires a willingness to approve proposals, to cut through red tape, to alleviate scheduling problems, and perhaps to provide lighter course loads. But that willingness goes nowhere if the faculty is in no mood to volunteer the development of new programs. It is the mutuality of respect and support that is important, the "ecological balance" I mentioned earlier in the interplay of personalities in the college, that makes things happen. That involves looking at the college as a *gestalt*, to borrow a term from my psychologist friends, as an organic whole with vitally interconnected parts.

Besides the academic, the other aspect of the college organism that merits isolation for discussion is that whole area of faculty-administration relations. I would like to approach the subject through the perspective of faculty governance, since that is where my experience is. I have been involved in faculty governance committee work in a variety of ways for all the five years that I have been at Oakton; during all of those years I have worked with administrators and trustees in writing the policies affecting the faculty, and I am just now completing my second term as faculty president.

Oakton is not affiliated with a union. The bulk of the faculty is rather adamant in its opposition to faculty unions (though an aggressively vocal minority does favor affiliating with the AFT or NEA). I, personally, have a strong bias against faculty unions: college faculties are not voiceless, they are not powerless, they are not without resources. Looking at the Chicago area colleges that have unionized, I see that in every instance I know of, the affiliation was preceded by cold wars of hostility, by legalistic wrestling matches, by two sides trying to hard-line each other into submission. Such tactics of antagonistic confrontation between inflexible opponents apparently lead only to the stifling of professional initiative and

imagination—and take the fun out of teaching or being an administrator. When to make conversation I ask faculty members from neighboring, unionized colleges how things are going, I get an unhappy list of grievances against the board and administration, without reference to academic matters. I regard such hostility as self-perpetuating—and defeating. A large portion of our lives is devoted to our jobs, and a main element of our very identity is derived from our profession and our professionalism. If we are in conflict with our jobs, then somehow, I am convinced, we are allowing ourselves to become fragmented in a most unhealthy way.

What are some alternatives? One rather common one is for a faculty to remain unorganized, so that people make their arrangements with administrators individually. And the powers that be, administrators or trustees, decide what working conditions will be like, what policies will be adopted, what salary increases will be made available. That arrangement might be comfortable for many people if the powers that be are benevolent, but it leaves faculty members essentially powerless, not a very satisfactory condition if one has a normal human urge to exert some shaping influence over the environment in which one functions.

I like the way Oakton's solution has worked. We have a strong internal faculty governance organization, structured to accommodate our concerns in curriculum development, instructional effectiveness, policy development and implementation—and welfare: salaries and fringe benefits. We have worked cooperatively with the administration and trustees, for the most part. We have encouraged and practiced the art of compromise. And we have accomplished most of what we have set out to do. Yet we do not have a master contract, as we would if we were union-affiliated, that would be determined each year in a series of trade-offs during negotiations, and that would be legally binding because those other guys cannot be trusted not to change the rules of the game.

We operate on a "good faith" basis. When the faculty sees the need for an improvement in our policies that would be negotiated in a union contract, we work to get it, independent of negotiations and without trade-offs. For example, a few years ago we decided that we did not want a tenure policy that would allow faculty members to slip into ineptitude, but that we did want some very definite form of job security. We formed a faculty-administration committee to investigate alternatives to the traditional tenure system. The committee worked busily for a year, developed a plan, and showed it to the faculty governance committees, which suggested some revisions; then the proposal was taken to the administrative council, which suggested some revisons that were worked out with the faculty com-

mittees; and at last the faculty as a whole voted to endorse the proposal, and the trustees adopted it as policy.* That is our normal procedure for developing policies that affect both instruction and working conditions; while it is a long and complicated and sometimes very controversial process, it works. It is followed by both the administration and the faculty, whoever initiates the idea for change; the trustees, as well, generally set this process into motion when the board is interested in developing or changing policies.

With these procedures for developing policies on a continuing basis throughout the year, as the need arises, formal negotiations are limited to salaries and fringe benefits that cost money. A faculty team meets with administrators, negotiates a settlement, and submits it to the trustees for approval. If the two sides should fail to agree, as has happened once, they each take their case to the trustees, who break the impasse (with the administrators as the likely winners, as one might guess). In such an instance, only salaries are affected. In 1975-76, Oakton's faculty achieved a new, comprehensive workload policy, sick leave and other policies affecting leaves of absence, and a grievance procedure, without having to compromise them in order to gain more in salaries, or to trade one off for another in the negotiating process. Recently, after a few years of debating among ourselves, the faculty took a stand against the particular merit pay system that we have been operating on; we want it changed. That will lead to heated discussions in 1977, but already we have indication that now that we have finally decided among ourselves, the administration will be working with us to find a mutually acceptable alternative, rather than engage in a battle of wills that could only distract us all from the real work of the college. As it has been from the beginning and will, I am sure, continue to be, this posture of good faith and cooperation that has characterized the college so far is maintained only in a very precarious balance. I suspect that is the natural order of things in institutions.

How has Oakton managed to maintain this balance, delicate as it is and despite occasional serious stumblings, for six years? Or, to begin to explore a wider generalization, how could any institution hope to maintain such a balance or even, to speak of a more common need, to gain one? I think a major part of the answer lies in atti-

*The job security policy assures every faculty member, including a new one, of a renewed contract for as long as his teaching is competent. If an instructor's teaching effectiveness is questioned, and if a committee of faculty and administrators agree that there is cause for concern, the faculty member is placed on probation for a year, supervised and aided by a committee of faculty and administrators, and then either dismissed or retained, depending on the level of improvement.

tudes. Our basic strategy at Oakton, one illustrated by every concrete issue, academic and political, that I have mentioned, is to work at defining how we can *both win* (however the two sides are defined). This strategy clearly involves cooperation rather than confrontation, and it involves mutual support.

I believe fundamentally that a faculty does need to organize itself to accomplish any common goal, and that the primary thrust of its organization should be to promote professional excellence. Only then does it have real power to influence the educational environment, and only then does it have the real moral authority to work for, to insist on, improvements in salaries and other welfare matters. That is working from strength. Similarly, in my experience, it is the faculty members who do not feel recognized and supported in such ways, and who have reduced their professional goals to a constant striving for more and more dollars. Clearly, administrators and trustees need to recognize that basic fact and to recognize that the mission of the college can best be achieved when faculty morale is at its highest, a condition that results from adequate pay to be sure, but also from professional respect. I have seen ample evidence in my experiences at Oakton that either side can work effectively to persuade the other, and that, even out of hostility, a constructive, supportive "ecology" can be established—*if* key people from the college's various constituencies set out to accomplish that objective. The crux of the matter, I think, lies in recognizing and acknowledging the integrity and legitimate concerns of the "other side," and then attempting to define problem solutions that respond to both sets of needs. That, in brief, summarizes the "let's you and me both win" strategy for disarming conflicts.

I think faculty union members, hard-line administrators, and diehard trustees generally work from weakness, from a silent confession that the people at the institution lack the initiative to work at controlling their environment constructively, to work cooperatively, and that ultimately such a situation leads to a profound lack of professional concern on all sides for the college's ultimate purposes. I regard it as unfortunate that faculty unions seem to be the wave of the future, and I regret the pattern of faculty-administration-trustee relationships that supports them, for, as I see it, they lead to mechanistic problem solving that stifles the humanistic system of values that most of us regard as vital to the mission of educational institutions.

I would be dishonest if I failed to acknowledge that, in this article, my view of Oakton has been filtered through a triple set of rose colored lenses. We have not established a utopian community, but a collection of people who reflect the conflict-filled "real" world. We

do indeed squabble among ourselves (and money is one of our favorite subjects for controversy), both within and outside the faculty, over issues that for the moment consume a good deal of energy. I mentioned earlier that some of our faculty members favor unionizing; I might say now that a few of our administrators and trustees at times behave as if to encourage them, and some of us believe that a union might very well take command at Oakton within the next five years or so. At times the atmosphere of the college has been charged with distrust, some degree of anger, and even hostility. Then we find that we are drawing up sides to win or lose.

Yet—and this truly characterizes Oakton—we have never thrown in the towel. While the political battles rage, the faculty goes on teaching in the ways I have described, the student development principle continues to be applied, the cluster system continues to bring faculty members into creative encounter. Standing up close to the day-to-day affairs of the college, we are perhaps too self-conscious and concerned with the stresses involved in performing our responsibilities; from a broader perspective, it is possible to see that the processes of the college are in good working order. Our elected faculty leaders have had solid faculty support consistently as they worked with, not against, the administrators and trustees. Even in conflict situations, we will resume our normal pattern of constructive dialogue. And most often the crises are followed by a period of assessment during which, implicity if not explicitly, we attempt to diagnose what went wrong, to improve the pattern of communications, to make up and become friends again. It is exhausting work—and, interestingly, it parallels the standard pattern of respect that exists in intimate personal relationships. I suspect that this makes Oakton rather unusual as a college. In spite of its rapid growth (it has quintupled in size in its six years), it has never become so institutionalized in its structure, so divided by factions, that it has lost its capacity to adapt to the needs of the individual personalities that inhabit its environment. And no one has lost sight of the fact that our students and the educational process need to remain at the center of our attention as the very reason for our presence at the college. The basic factors that make this realization possible derive in large measure from the structure of the college—from the nature of the cluster system and the influence of the student development principle.

The cluster system, with its decentralization and attendant lack of bureaucracy at Oakton, leads to direct, almost daily contact among faculty members and administrators, and so it encourages dialogue. That communication is considerably enhanced by a system of values derived from the student development model, which

stresses the need to talk through problems and conflicts, to define and attempt to understand the validity in adversary positions, and to arrive at accommodation, compromise. Just as Oakton works at encouraging its students to take an active role in shaping their environment, so have all of us created our own opportunities to do so within the college. Oakton has stood as a new kind of college, as an alternative to the educational factory for both its students and its employees, because its definition of itself includes the personal factor, that decisively humanistic system of values that encourages the individual to strain against whatever barriers are placed in front of him in a positive endeavor to be creative. My personal hope for the future of American education generally, is that Oakton, extraordinary as it is, is not a temporary mutation, but indeed a prototype for what could one day be the typical community college.

Responding to the Needs of Diverse Clientele: The Florida Junior College at Jacksonville Story

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I would like to begin my remarks about "Responding to the Needs of Diverse Clientele" by painting a backdrop which portrays a kind of institution which is more than "community-based." It is the kind of institution we have recently begun to call the "community renewal college." This community renewal college is linked to the community in such a manner that it determines its direction and develops its goals through college-community interaction, uses the total community as a learning laboratory and resource, serves as a catalyst to create in the community a desire for renewal, provides a vehicle through which the community educates itself, and evaluates its successes by citizen successes that are recognized as significant by the community itself.

In pragmatic terms, this community renewal college delivers the kinds of education community members want and need, not what pedagogues think is good for them. It does so at locations where the learners are, not where conventional college organization indicates they should be. It is guided by open community participation in defining comprehensive learning needs, suggesting solutions, and facilitating delivery, not by the decisions of professional educators and governing boards alone. As it is now emerging, the community renewal college is both learner- and community-oriented. It is no longer merely a "giver" to those who are inclined to accept its gifts; instead, its role is that of cooperator with the community in joint efforts to put people back together in meaningful human endeavors. It is a college that takes an active role in the renewal of its constituents. It constantly avails itself of opportunities to participate in the continual renewal of individuals and thus in the continual restructuring of the community as a whole. It is a true "people's college," not confined to the campus but decentralized and flourishing in the real world of the total community. Its mission is to help people grow in a variety of ways—from finding maximum employment to acquiring the skills necessary for renewal of their neighborhoods and the attitudes for the creation, at least, of a learning society. Touching every citizen, it rejuvenates community pride and serves

as an agent of change for the betterment of life at the local level. It lifts the educational achievement of all its constituents. It emphasizes human and community renewal as the cornerstone of ever curriculum.

The community renewal college must learn about its clientele because it is much more than a college in a community merely offering its traditional programs to those who want them. The community renewal college actively seeks to serve the needs of the growing number of what would at one time have been called "nontraditional" students: those who cannot afford the time or cost of conventional further education; those whose interests and talents are not served by traditional education; those who have been displaced by automation and who must retool themselves in midcareer; those whose previous educational experiences have precluded their acquiring the necessary skills to move into the higher echelons of learning; those whose educational progress has been interrupted by illness, military service, or other temporary conditions beyond their control; those who are elderly and have come passively to accept the questionable blessings of retirement; and the multitudes caught up in the lockstep of tradition, believing mistakenly that college is four walls, semester-length courses, earning a degree, only for the culturally and intellectually elite, and, most significant of all, beyond their reach.

Florida Junior College at Jacksonville (FJC) which is fast becoming a community re[illegible]l college, serves an urban population of almost 600,000 residents in Duval and Nassau counties in northeast Florida. FJC has maximized its opportunities to serve its clientele which is characterized by a broad range of needs. There are more than 41,000 individuals over the age of 65; there are some 35,000 disabled persons between the ages of 16 and 64; more than 20,000 families live below the poverty level; and although, until recently, unemployment was quite low, underemployment is quite high with some 75,000 adults working below their potential. Additionally, more than 17 percent of the male population aged 16 to 21 are non-high school graduates and are not attending school. Also, there are more than 100,000 adults over the age of 25 who have not completed high school, and half of these individuals are functionally illiterate. While about 23 percent of the total population is black, nearly 19 percent of the population above the age of 18 is black.

Florida Junior College is organized into four major campuses, each headed by a provost. In addition to these major facilities, we operate programs in more than 200 off-campus centers. Just under 100 of these are public schools, and about half of those are desig-

nated as community schools. Churches comprise more than 50 centers, and everything from apartments to housing projects, community centers, homes for the aging, nursing homes, hospitals, detention facilities, military installations, federal agencies, rehabilitation centers, business, etc., make up the rest of the centers. We are now in our eleventh year of operation. College-wide in all programs we serve almost 19,000 full-time-equivalents (FTEs), and we have an unduplicated headcount enrollment of over 70,000 students annually. This unduplicated headcount enrollment includes only those who have formally registered for a course at the college. Incidentally, that is one in six of every person above high school age—quite a "market penetration."

Florida Junior College offers a broad range of liberal arts or university parallel transfer courses. These courses constitute over 7,000 of our FTE. Additionally, we offer both college-credit technical courses and a broad range of noncollege credit, or below-college credit, vocational programs. There are more than 100 of these programs, and they enroll approximately 7,500 of our annual FTEs. The remainder of our students are enrolled in adult and continuing education. We are the designated area vocational school, which includes responsibility for all adult basic education in our county, as well as high school completion for out-of-school adults. We confer high school diplomas, as well as offer the GED testing service. In addition to a broad range of continuing education seminars, workshops, courses and short courses, we operate a broad category of state-supported courses which we call "community instructional services." These courses include such things as citizenship, safety, parenthood, aging, women's issues, etc. I will have more to say about this category in a minute. Finally, we do offer avocational and recreational courses which are fully self-supporting. These run the gamut from arts and crafts to yoga. However, these make up less than 1 percent of our total FTEs.

As a college we have a strong commitment to learning about our community and working with our community. We try to establish an atmosphere or a tone of successful operation, and that tone begins with our board and our top level management, and extends downward throughout the organization. We feel the entire staff of the college must have a feeling of freedom to experiment with new ideas. We try to remove the fear of failure, and as the college becomes aware of the unlimited capabilities it really has and the great needs of the community, the types of activities coordinated through the college are limited only by people's imaginations.

We have tried to do a lot of work with community needs assessment. In addition to doing employment needs surveys and place-

ment and follow-up studies, we try to build on information which becomes available to us through the more than 200 other agencies, excluding churches, in our community, which offer some kind of human services. In addition, we have conducted a community awareness survey in an effort to analyze the attitudes and opinions of a random sample of our entire population and how they felt about a broad range of educational issues, how much they knew about FJC, and their potential interest in our programs. Although I don't have time to go into the many things we do in the area of needs assessment, I would like to share with you just one area of research which highlights some of our pursuits in trying to fill some of the educational needs of our very diverse clientele.

As I indicated earlier, we are responsible for an area of instruction called "community instructional services." In order to qualify for the maximum appropriation from the state to do the best job locally, we identify local community problems which may be addressed by these community instructional service programs. Basically, we pull together existing studies, fill in the gaps with our own investigations and then categorize these community issues into seven areas. These are issues related to environment, health, safety, human relations, government, education, child rearing, and consumer economics.

After studying these issues, we determined a number of problems to which we could address some programmatic activities. For example, some of those we felt were the most critical were these:

(1) Minority groups make up 40 percent of those at poverty-level income. The aging have lack of assurance of adequate income, due largely to increased taxes and health care payments. Management of the dollars received is a problem for most elderly. Education of the elderly is minimal, adding to the economic problems already significant. Four out of five women employed are confined to the bottom rungs of the job and pay ladders, and adequate employment and financial assistance are lacking. People need training in how to get and keep a job. Discrimination in the job market against women, blacks, elderly, and handicapped persons is evidenced.

(2) Crimes of violence increased 18 percent during the first six months of 1975 in our city, and over 30,000 serious crimes are committed each year. Rape calls number over 300 annually. Training and information related to preventive measures such as self-defense are needed to avoid susceptibility to this conflict.

(3) The quality of life in Jacksonville is most directly influenced by the income levels of its citizens and the cost of purchasing basic goods and services. The cost of food budgets increased almost 56 percent in the last six years. Housing costs increased 30 percent in the last six years. Five percent of Jacksonville's households pay

more than 25 percent of their income for housing. Medical care increased 40 percent in the last six years, and taxes increased 28 percent in the last six years. This indicates a strong need on the part of the majority of the community for consumer economics related to money management and methods of maintaining or improving the established standards of living.

(4) The aging have a lack of educational services and opportunities to assure good health. Citizens aged 65 and over represent 10 percent of the population. One out of forty of these older citizens resides in a nursing home. Organized, effective programs geared toward continuing physical fitness and health of men and women during the years of retirement are lacking.

(5) Jacksonville ranks lowest in the state in preparation and spirit of participation in local government. Individuals in the community need to be aware of who the public officials are and how to communicate with and influence them. Assistance of some nature via public information, counseling and/or education in parliamentary procedure should be provided as a minimum to ensure that each person is aware of his or her rights. Most citizens are not aware of technical assistance, of voluntary public and social service agencies available to them.

Other problem categories, for example, are related to the fact that 18 percent of Jacksonville's population has never seen a doctor; malnutrition is a major problem; planned suicide attempts have increased 20 percent over the last four years; and one in five of Jacksonville's population was involved in accidents last year, indicating a safety problem at home and in public. Women need assistance to become aware of personal rights and simple practices which assure assertive behavior and help overcome negative feelings. One-fourth of Jacksonville households are headed by women who need help in fulfilling their potential. Citizens need assistance to develop human relations which will instill positive attitudes toward one another for better race relations in the community. Jacksonville has inadequate programs for exconvicts, alcoholics, and other socially maladjusted persons to assist them in readjusting. There is a high percentage of dependent children in institutional care in Jacksonville. Jacksonville has a high percentage of runaway children; reported parent-child conflicts and juvenile delinquency, which indicates a need to assist parents with problems encountered with predelinquent young persons, runaway children, and the cause of child-parent and child-community conflicts. A high number of births occurred to teenagers under 18 years of age — 1,000 in 1975. Parents and children need assistance and/or education concerning the abuse of tobacco, drugs and alcohol. They need involvement in cre-

ative discussions of sex, family life and venereal disease. Consumer education for the masses is essential—consumer fraud is a major problem in Jacksonville with nearly 3,000 written complaints, and over 140,000 informal complaints yearly. These are just the highlights of some of the problems which we found. Now, how do these problems relate to courses?

Based upon an understanding of these issues, we offer a number of courses which we feel will help prepare our citizenry to cope with these problems. For example, we offer courses in the following areas:

Consumer Education Law
Economics—How to Get a Job
Family Finance
Education for Parenthood
Early Pregnancy Preparation
Skills for Parenting
Parenting the Adopted Child
Teaching Your Children about Sex
Opening Doors for Women—Exploring Options
Self-Defense for Women
Managing Your World Work
Assertive Training
Divorce—A New Challenge
After Divorce, What?
Making the Most of Being Single
Human Relations: The Psychology of Awareness
Leadership Training
Life Planning Workshop
Reach for Recovery, for those who have had mastectomies
Education for the Aging
Preretirement and Retirement Education
Attitudes toward Death
Prerelease Program for the Incarcerated
Our Environmental Crisis
Community Emergency Preparation
Safety Programs
Parliamentary Procedure

These are only examples of courses which have been offered successfully on campus as well as off campus. Most of them are offered at the off-campus centers, particularly those programs for the aging, those who are incarcerated, and those whose needs we can simply meet better off campus.

I mentioned a number of courses dealing with the aging and with women. Based upon the great demand in our community, we have

developed a Center for the Continuing Education of Women and an Aging Program. There are many activities related to both of these projects which are outside the description of a normal course. For example, we sponsor a Friday luncheon for women. Such a luncheon usually includes speakers, guests and activities similar to service organizations. We are the sponsor; however, no FTEs are involved. For the aging, we have endeavored to foster greater degrees of independent living, including possibilities of earning additional income, as well as opportunities to share with peers the knowledge and expertise gained over long lifetimes.

Another area where we endeavor to meet the unique needs of diverse clientele in our community is in the area of vocational-technical training. Not only do we seek to meet the needs of individuals, but also those of business and industry. We try to match up the needs of both employer and employee to their mutual benefit. Consequently, we work with curriculum advisory committees—over 400 people are involved. I have, in addition to all of our occupational deans, both at the district level as well as on campuses, an Assistant to the President for Business and Industry Relations. This individual spends his total time interfacing with top-level management in business and industry, interpreting the college to them and helping them realize the college's services, as well as bringing back to the college needs of this community. One example of meeting diverse needs is the development of a number of employer classes—that is, classes to which employers send currently working employees to upgrade their skills. Usually the employer pays tuition and gives the employee one or two hours off work each day, and in turn, the employee contributes a couple of hours of his own time. We see this as a growing service at our college. All occupational training activities in our community are coordinated through the Duval/Nassau Coordinating Council for Vocational Education, comprised of representatives of FJC, the public schools, the University of North Florida, Florida Employment Services, the Mayor's Manpower Council and others.

Another thing that we have developed based upon the mutual needs of individuals and industry is a One Stop Job/Education Center. The One Stop Center represents a unique and innovative project to unite the community's manpower training, counseling, placement and development agencies in one central location. The purpose is to improve the accessibility and efficiency of many manpower services for the benefit of persons needing them. The project is sponsored by the Manpower Office through a CETA Title 106 grant, and, upon request of the city, FJC accepted responsibility for operating the center. The One Stop Center is located downtown in

rented facilities and is designed to make it easier for anyone to obtain job training, counseling, testing and referrals to jobs. Instead of having to go all over town to each individual agency, most of the region's manpower agencies—those dealing in any kind of training or placement—have representatives located right at the center. The center has already doubled its clientele quota since its 1975 fall opening.

Earlier I mentioned that we have 100 different vocational-technical training programs. Students take these for all kinds of reasons. Most are related directly to job skill training, and we focus the programs on that aspect; however, some enroll for hobby development or personal enjoyment.

I would be negligent if I did not mention our outreach programs to students in our regular liberal arts transfer programs. We have a very strong developmental education program on each campus. The courses carry college credit; they just take more time and more intensive individual attention. We have a strong commitment to affirmative action which is attested to by the large number of blacks that we have been able to recruit into our registered nursing program. Our program continues to be outstanding in the performance of its graduates in the first sitting for the RN examination.

We work very carefully with the community school program in Jacksonville. We provide in the public schools in the evening all of the formal courses in adult education, adult basic education, community instructional services and avocational and recreational programs. Some programs are offered by the recreation department, and we are careful to coordinate with that agency.

Finally I would like to mention just a few activities in which we have participated that reach diverse clientele and that may have a particular interest for you.

At our North Campus, we developed a unique telephone education program for severely handicapped adults. The program consists of four part-time instructors providing approximately eighty teaching hours a week to some sixty students. The instruction is quite individualized so that students can progress at their own rates of learning. The program leads to a high school credit or equivalency diploma and other instruction, including college credit. Instruction is conducted primarily by telephone with the instructors making home visits when necessary. We developed a job-awareness survey, also, to help the handicapped students with placement in jobs—one of the ultimate goals of the project—providing greater independence.

As a result of the urgent need for skilled craftsmen in the metal trades, the Job Entry Training Center, JET Center we call it, was

established through the cooperative efforts of the community, the Duval County School Board, the Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor and Florida Junior College at Jacksonville. The JET Center consists of sixty welding stations, twenty sheet metal stations, twenty steel fabrication stations, and twenty machine shop stations. This was a "crash" cooperative program, which was planned, completely developed and implemented in new moveable classrooms within six months—an unbelievably short period of time. We are now moving all of these programs into expanded facilities in our new downtown campus.

With funds provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance Association, LEAA, the concept of establishing a regional criminal justice training and education center at our South Campus became a reality in January of 1973. The overall mission of the center is to improve and strengthen criminal justice personnel through quality training and education. The college and the criminal justice agencies involved envision the development of career lattices for individuals pursuing careers in the criminal justice field.

We have developed under two different grants an offender education program, which is an alternative to incarceration. We work very carefully with the criminal justice system, particularly the judges. First-time offenders may be given the opportunity to attend regular FJC classes rather than being imprisoned. We provide special counseling services to these clients.

We have offered a number of programs in detention facilities. For example, we have a program offering high school review and preparation for the GED test for prisoners in the jails, as well as occupational training, both in home economics and automotive repair, at the city prison farm. We are also involved with halfway houses, etc.

In addition to the telephone program I mentioned earlier, we also have programs such as fundamentals of art for the blind, which involves study of sculpture and clay modeling. This course, incidentally, is taught by an instructor who is confined to a wheel chair. We also offer courses in sign language for the deaf and mute taught, of course, by a deaf mute.

In an effort to help in the public housing program, we developed a course for managers, employees and residents of city public housing projects. The course is designed to upgrade the capabilities of employees and increase the understanding of the residents in achieving the goals of the public housing program.

Short courses, institutes, and seminars have grown rapidly. For example we sponsor the National Truck Theft Prevention Seminar at our college. It is a two-day seminar designed to bring together all segments of the trucking industry to take effective action against

truck theft and cargo theft. Additionally, we have developed one-day seminars on the prevention of shoplifting in conjunction with the Jacksonville supermarket and food industry.

Another example of an interesting course which we have developed with special clientele is the "pinch-hitter" course. This is a course to train the nonpilot or passenger of a small aircraft to control and land a plane in an emergency situation where the pilot is incapacitated in the air. This was developed in cooperation with the Aircraft Owner and Pilot Association.

Finally, we have developed many activities for our community through "risk capital" and grants. For example, we sponsored Carmina Burana, a joint FJC and Arts Assembly production, which was underwritten by FJC and included the Jacksonville Symphony Orchestra, the FJC Concert Chorale, and four ballet companies. Two highly successful performances were given. We have followed this up with a number of other fine arts presentations in our city. We do not have adequate facilities on our campuses to accommodate all of the artist series programs which we provide our students, and therefore we schedule those in the Civic Auditorium facilities and make them available to the general public as well.

Conclusion

It has been said that there is no such thing as "higher" education: instead, education only gets broader and deeper. This idea epitomizes the need for institutions dedicated to *further* education rather than "higher" education: colleges that offer well-conceived, carefully developed learning experiences, both formal and informal, designed to facilitate and perpetuate individual self-renewal and social revitalization. Such institutions will enable us to achieve the mission of improving the quality of life in America's communities.

The institution embarking upon such a role recognizes that renewal is a process, not a product. Its task can never be finished, for the concept of completion is the antithesis of renewal. Far from falling victim to disheartenment at the job never finished, the goal never achieved, the system never perfected, and the organization never worthy of permanence, such a college accepts the challenge of coping with the new, adapting to change, bringing an increasing number of citizens into participation in the stimulating events of their times, and helping its community revitalize itself. No educational institution has ever attempted a more stimulating and exciting task—or one more crucial to the very survival of its society.

(The introduction and conclusion are drawn largely from the *Community Renewal College*, by Gollattscheck, Harlacher, Roberts and Wygal, Jossey-Bass, 1976.)

Some Social Characteristics of Rural-Urban Poor Blacks: Sources for Community Colleges, an Alternative Population

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I am delighted to be here to participate in what I consider an extremely timely and appropriate conference. More specifically, I am delighted to have been selected to lead a discussion on "Some Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Poor Blacks: A Population for Junior or Community Colleges."

Having lived for two years in Nashville where I worked at Meharry Medical College, and having participated at the community level, I feel a keen sense of closeness to Tennessee and its efforts to make higher education available and within reach of needy populations.

Although there is growing agreement among educational researchers, politicians, the lay public, and indeed among many blacks, that blacks have made significant socio-cultural or socio-economic gains over the last decade, it should be recognized that the life styles and values of millions of America's rural and urban poor blacks have made little progress. I am not here today to describe the black middle class, nor will any attempt be made to measure how far we have come as a people. My primary concern is with those rural-urban poor blacks who have yet to begin to realize the "American Dream."

Let me say from the outset that institutions of higher education in Tennessee, like the entire nation, have failed miserably to maintain and provide for the educational enhancement of a significant population of persons. The state of Tennessee, like the nation, has ignored the existence of a population of individuals that we now find (for whatever reason) it necessary to include in the population pool. Inasmuch as this is true, I feel that community/junior colleges, especially those in the rural-urban South, enjoy an advantage.

Let's face it, this consistently ignored population may, in the long run, be the population source for institutions of higher education—whether it is at the community/junior college level, the senior college level, or the professional school level. There are, after all, projected data that the traditional pool for college students is dry-

ing up fast. It is also projected that this decrease will be with us for an unprecedented period of time.

In response to this projection, many institutions of higher education have altered or cancelled all projected physical growth (i.e., the projected new dormitories are being cancelled; funds for new buildings are being redistributed to other more pressing functions, etc.). Many dormitories are being converted into administrative facilities; massive, often cut-throat, recruiting for students is beginning to take shape (such recruiting techniques have a long history for private institutions, but represent a new intervention for public institutions); colleges and universities are returning to traditional curricula—distribution credits and other safeguards usually associated with traditional program offerings; new, more "innovative" undergraduate programs are being created to enhance student attrition-competitive networks. Inasmuch as undergraduate enrollment often affects the pool of graduate students, we have witnessed new innovations designed to attract a larger number of graduate and professional students, (i.e., new graduate programs are being introduced and designed to attract a population that would, under normal conditions, not seek graduate studies). Such bodies exist, for example, among social service personnel, public school teachers, government employees, "housewives," etc., that do not desire a terminal degree for professional enhancement alone. They simply have a desire to be involved and to learn. The result is that such persons are among the head-counts.

Our particular concern is, of course, with junior or community colleges and their relationship to the often overlooked rural-urban southern black and minority populations. Although institutions of higher education in the South (whether they be junior or senior colleges) enjoy an advantage in working with this source, it should be stressed that efforts must be made to deal with the realities of the black rural-urban experiences—especially as such relate to the continued (although decreasing) appeal associated with black mobility—the movement of blacks from the rural-urban South to the northeastern and western cities.

These concerns suggest a clear role for community colleges, especially those located in the rural and urban South. It can be immediately recognized that historically some of the most capable and talented black southerners have migrated to northern and western states. I sense that the community college can do much to stabilize this population shift, thereby easing the disruptive effects of physical mobility.

That physical mobility is itself disruptive has been the topic of many scholars.[1] The migration of blacks out of the rural South took

on the aspect of a mass movement about the year 1914, a time when the migration of blacks, largely northward, became one of the most significant events in the history of black Americans in the twentieth century.[2] The movement was so noticeable that at least one group observed:

> They're leaving Memphis in droves,
> Some are coming on the passenger,
> Some are coming on the freight,
> Others will be found walking,
> For none have time to wait.[3]

The years preceding World War I and the period prior to and through World War II saw a mass exodus of overwhelming proportions of black Americans from rural to urban centers and from the South to the North and West. A people who in 1900 were 77 percent rural, in half a century became over 65 percent urban.[4] Although recent mobility trends for 1965 and 1975 show a marked slowdown, it is revealing to note that the South lost only 1 percent of its black population from 1965 to 1975. Presently, 53 percent of the black population is in the South, 39 percent is in the North, 19 percent is in the Northeast, 20 percent is in north central states, and 9 percent is in western states.[5] According to 1974 data, only 8 percent of the black population can be identified as "non-metropolitan dwellers," a change from 10.3 percent in 1960, and 9.1 percent in 1970.[6]

The declining black farm population in the South and Southeast is accompanied by a continuing heavy migration of black youths to urban centers. This is shown by the fact that there are nearly three times as many youths in the 10-14 age group as there are in the 20-24 age categories, and there are considerably more than three times as many in the 15-19 age class as there are in the 25-29 age group.[7] Assuredly, there are not enough job opportunities on farms to absorb the maturing black youth population. Families cannot be sustained without work.

It is comforting to note that after three decades of a predominantly one-way migration from the South to the North and West, a new pattern of black migration appears to be emerging in the 1970s. There is some evidence that during the four-year period 1970-74, the volume of black migration *from* the South declined and, at the same time, the number moving to the South increased. In fact, during that four-year period the number of blacks four years old and over moving *to* the South (276,000) closely approximated the number moving *from* the South (241,000).[8]

This reverse migration, however, has not revealed significant moves to the rural South—especially to the farms, although it does

mean that a larger number of blacks are realizing that there have been significant changes in the South which provide greater opportunities than before slavery, Jim Crow, and the lynching periods. Poor blacks are still leaving, and poor urban blacks are not yet returning south.

How can we reverse this trend for black rural-urban dwellers and at the same time remove the ever present signs of institutional and individual racism? We must first understand some of the more prevalent dynamics of the black community—as such relate to blacks in rural and urban America. It should be noted that I make no geographic distinction between the prevalence of racism. There is no difference between the experiences of blacks who live in the rural-urban South and those who live in the urban North, urban West or urban East. The oppression that black families experience in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, etc., is the same for those in New York, Illinois, Michigan, California, etc. The key unit of analysis is blackness. It makes little sense to deal with geography or geographical distribution if racism is the independent variable.

Prison Populations for Selected States—Federal Prison Systems in the United States 1975-76

States	% of Total Black Population in State	Total Prison Populations	% of Black Inmates (Minority)
California	7.5	24,780	62.0
Florida	15.1	15,709	52.0
Georgia	26.2	11,067	60.0
Illinois	13.5	8,110	55.0
Louisiana	29.7	4,774	63.0
Maryland	17.7	6,606	74.0
Michigan	11.7	10,882	54.0
New Jersey	10.7	5,277	93.0
New York	12.8	16,056	74.0
Ohio	9.4	11,451	47.0
Pennsylvania	8.8	7,054	56.0
South Carolina	30.3	6,100	57.0
Texas	12.6	10,936	44.0
Virginia	18.4	6,092	64.0
Washington, DC	81.1	1,538	90.0

SOURCE: Clovis White, "Comparison of Black Inmate Population for Selected States in the Northeastern, Southern and Western Sections of the United States," Department of African/Afro-American Studies, SUNY-Albany, 1976.

I have argued, for example, that black Americans are an imprisoned population. Black America represents a people set apart civically, economically, educationally, and politically; denied its full measure of civil rights; punished at will; and stigmatized as undeserving of the privilege of being accorded the dignity of free men. This is the definition of a prisoner. Blacks are fast becoming —at practically every hand—the prisoners of America.

Although blacks consistently comprise a smaller percentage of any state's population, they remain disproportionally over-represented in state prisons. In fact, correctional institutions, unlike any other societal institutions, house the greatest representation of blacks. Note for example, although blacks comprise only 7.5 percent of the total population in California, nearly 62 percent of California's inmates are black; they comprise 10.7 percent of the population in New Jersey, yet 93 percent of the inmate population are black; they comprise 17.7 percent of the state of Maryland, yet 74 percent are black; they comprise 12.8 percent of the population of New York State, yet 74 percent are black and Hispanic.

Black families are being negatively affected because young men and women are locked behind bars for the duration of their most reproductive years. While imprisonment removes one from the competitive process it also renders survival techniques and strategies ineffective. Clearly, then, one of the most effective ways of performing genocide is to systematically lock young blacks behind prison walls for the duration of their most reproductive years.

The following table demonstrates the age disparity for the state of New York.

New York State Prison Population by Age, Race (1975)

	Race:	
Age	**Black**	**White**
16-18	1,130	487
19-20	1,205	406
21-24	2,679	820
25-29	2,273	817
30-34	1,339	491
35 and over	1,665	763

Over 77 percent of the black inmate population in New York fall between the ages of 16-34. These data reveal the negative consequences for the structure of the black family (i.e., marriages are consummated before the prison experience, but such unions of-

ten end with divorce; children are often left with female heads who suffer the same discrimination faced by black males; black families often seek welfare because the male is imprisoned; black children are left without fathers and often face adoption agencies; black men, while in prison, often undergo illegal human experimentations that negatively affect their minds and spirit, etc.).

In addition, other results follow.

1) There is a persistent pattern of black status degradation during and after arrest, which often is accompanied by physical and verbal abuse.

2) Blacks in prison have relatively less probation than do white prisoners.

3) Blacks are subjected to comparatively higher bails than are required of whites in relatively minor offenses.

4) Blacks are given longer jail sentences than are whites for the same offenses.

5) Blacks are required to serve out more of their time than are white prisoners.

6) Blacks are demeaned by authoritarian white guards and administrators, most of whom have been taught to see blacks as a degraded people.

7) Black inmates, as at Attica in 1971, claim that gratuitous physical attacks by guards, and a different privilege and work assignment system based on race are prevalent.

8) Blacks have a low probability of attaining parole.

9) Blacks are disproportionately victimized by surgical and other experimentation by persons who consider black prisoners as chattel.

10) Trial judges and juries are largely—indeed overwhelmingly—white, and they reflect the racist attitudes which prevail in our American society as a whole.[9]

Rural and urban black families are more likely to be exposed to and engage in the use of detrimental drugs. Just as prisons take our young, just as educational institutions fail to educate our young, just as unemployment is rampant among our young, so too are our young being exposed, at an earlier age, to detrimental drugs.

Data for 1970 reveal that in a sample of 422 New York State heroin addicts, 45 percent were black, 30 percent were Puerto Rican, and 25 percent were white;[10] in Atlanta, Georgia, out of a sample of 118 users, 59 percent were black and 41 percent were white;[11] a sample of 405 opiate areas in Los Angeles, California, revealed that 51 percent of the users were black and 43 percent were white.[12]

A sample of 200 multi-drug users in New York City revealed that 36 percent were black, 39 percent were Puerto Rican, and 24 percent were white;[13] another sample of heroin users in New York City revealed that 63 percent were black and 22 percent were Puerto Rican.[14]

In Washington, D.C., from a sample of 3,175 heroin addicts, 95 percent were black;[15] from a sample of 2,798 heroin addicts in New Jersey, 43 percent were black, 52 percent were white, and 5 percent were Hispanic.[16]

As the heroin user is pulled deeper into the addiction system, and as he needs more and more heroin to maintain his habit, and as he needs to begin to steal or to engage in sex for money, the initial glamour fades—normal family life, as he knew it, is disrupted completely. He is likely to become known to the police as a thief and a heroin addict; he will probably lose his job and experience rejection by his family and non-using friends. Life becomes a rat race as the addict engages in the day-in, day-out, twenty-four-hour struggle to maintain his habit.[17] Heroin use then becomes extremely dysfunctional for the black family.

Black families have been met with unemployment and underemployment as well as systematic exclusion from the employment process. Blacks, even during periods of relative national prosperity, have historically borne a disproportionate burden of joblessness. While there is just reason for alarm at the current high unemployment rate for the nation, which is about 7.5 percent, black joblessness has ranged over 8 percent for more than six years (see following table).

Black Unemployment in the United States 1970-1976
(Annual Percentages: National)

	Unemployment Rate	
Year	Black	White
1970	8.2	4.5
1971	9.9	5.4
1972	10.0	5.0
1973	8.9	4.3
1974	9.9	5.0
1975	10.9	6.8
1976	14.3	7.5

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In 1975 and 1976 black unemployment for some specific areas was generally over 14 percent and as high as 50 percent in many low income communities. If current trends continue, a large segment of our black youth—about half—will be unemployed over the next five years and will constitute a permanent "workless" class.

In 1970 there were over four million persons unemployed in the United States. This represented 4.9 percent of the total employable population. Of the total number unemployed, 752,000 were black. This was 8.2 percent of the black employable population.[18]

In April, the ratio of unemployment for all workers was 5.7 percent. It was 5.4 percent for white workers and 9.9 percent for blacks, a differential deficit ratio of 77 percent for black Americans as compared to white Americans.

Correlated closely with the high rate of unemployment is the distribution of those annually employed by types of occupations (underemployment). In June 1967, 45.5 percent of all black employees as compared with 15.1 percent of whites were occupied in the lower paying jobs, such as private household workers, service workers, and laborers, and only 10.2 percent of blacks were employed as professionals, managers, or proprietors as compared to 28.4 percent of the white population.[19]

Despite proclamations by the Carter administration that the recession is ending, 20 million workers will experience unemployment during the course of 1976. Some thirty years after the enactment of the 1946 Employment Act to deal with unemployment, the government's commitment to full employment is still at the discussion stage—perhaps because this is election year, and administrative officials are engaging in an insensitive debate about "acceptable levels" of unemployment, citing joblessness rates of 7.5 percent for whites and 14 percent for blacks as "tolerable."

Clearly, employment patterns for blacks must be adjusted. Despite heroic efforts, the plight of black Americans has not been effectively improved. The nation's internal peace, its external commitments to the enlargement of freedom and human rights, and its own will to bring fulfillment to its people cannot accommodate the past and present pattern of endeavors in the interests of equitable employment relationships. However altruistic they may be or have been, their transparent inadequacy must come to command replacement by new and effective mechanisms for employment pattern adjustment. It is clear also that efforts at lower echelon job training for blacks should not

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be given the priority which they have enjoyed. Blacks need immediate employment at all levels and especially at the higher levels, using talents and skills already developed and available. New mechanisms and the coordination of old mechanisms in vastly new frameworks, with the kind of commitment which dictates the utilization of black men's leadership, are called for at the very least. The nation cannot afford to have its major source of civil malaise incessantly subjected to pilot projects, or used as the pawn in a political chess game, when massive efforts calling for the maximum of commitment and the clearest insights are needed in the most urgent way.[20]

Black families are also negatively affected by income disparities, especially during a period of inflation. In 1973, the median income for white families was $12,345, while for the black family it was $8,815, or a deficit of $3,530.[21] Blacks have the lowest income of all minority groups in the United States. It should be observed that 70 percent of all white families were in the income level of $8,000 per year and above as compared to 42 percent of black families. Also nearly 50 percent of all white families were in the income category of $10,000 and above as compared to 22 percent of black families, and 21 percent of all white families were in the $15,000 and above category as compared to 7.2 percent of black families.

Housing and Housing Segregation

Housing in the United States is inadequate and housing segregation is almost absolute. Yet, in a complex urban-industrial society such as the United States, both climate and health needs make housing of vital importance. Housing as a result of its location and characteristics is related to a person's social world in matters of social status, chances for earning a living, interactions with other members of his family, and his or her self-concept. Clearly, housing is very important to physical and social well-being both from the standpoint of the individual and the society.

One of the most striking and profound facts of American urban and rural areas is the separation of their residents according to race. A thorough study of the extent of racial segregation, using 1960 census data, showed housing segregation indices of more than 85.[22] The substantial number of index numbers in the 90s and high 80s points to a near complete separation of races. A more recent study of segregation changes between 1960 and 1970 using census data from nineteen metropolitan areas concludes "that in general there was an increase in the spatial concentration of black and all non-whites over the decade."[23] Segre-

gation was more complete in 1970 than 1960. Forman has observed that "if automobiles were to progress like this they would not need reverse gears."[24] Segregation has become an all-or-nothing phenomenon, similar in its totality to virginity.[25]

Black families have also discovered that the probability of owning their own home is less likely in large urban centers. In 1973, about 7 million housing units were occupied by black households and approximately 62.4 million by white households. About 43 percent of black households lived in homes they owned or were buying, a smaller proportion than the comparable figure of 67 percent of white households.[26]

Owner occupancy rates for black households tended to vary by region. For blacks in the Northeast, only about three out of ten black families were buying or owned their home; in the South, the comparable proportion was about five out of ten.[27]

This is, in large measure, due to the increased cost of housing in the urban and northern communities, accompanied by a greater demand for adequacy. It does not, as Billingsley so aptly notes, suggest that southern black families are better housed than their northern counterpart, although it may suggest a greater investment and a sense of belonging on the part of southern home-owning black families.[28]

Although they need so much more medical/health care than whites, black families, as the late Whitney Young observed, get so much less.[29] That black families are getting much less medical/health care is illustrated by physician and dentist visits for 1973.[30] Blacks were less likely than whites to have visited a physician or dentist: 70 percent of the black population made at least one visit to a physician; only one-third of the blacks made a visit to a dentist. Furthermore, black persons with lower family incomes were less likely to have received more care in a clinic than blacks with higher family income.[31]

It is also significant to note that life expectancy for blacks continued to be lower than for whites. Among blacks, the average life expectancy at birth in 1973 was 61.9 years for males and 70.1 for females; corresponding figures for whites were 68.4 and 76.1.[32]

Black mobile families show greater signs of marital instability than the less mobile. While this is true it should in no way be interpreted negatively. The black family is stable; approximately 61 percent of the estimated 5.5 million black families for 1975 had both spouses present.[33]

Although the black family is stable it should be observed that the proportion of black families headed by a woman climbed from 28

percent in 1970 to 35 percent in 1975 and seems to be leveling off.[34] From the beginning of the decade to 1974, the number of black women who were heads of their own families increased by one-half million, or 37 percent.[35] Some explanations given include increasing divorce and separation rates, the retention of children by unwed mothers, greater economic independence, and the availability of public assistance. To this list must be added the existence of employment discrimination directed at black men and women—especially black men—that results in their inability to support black families.

I have reserved the right to discuss education last—primarily because that is our immediate concern here today. Needless to say school segregation in the North and South has increased rather than decreased. I must make it clear that black Americans should long ago have perceived that enforced "integration" as a goal is a compromise of black Americans on its face. It is not the presence of white people that gives worth to learning. Desegregation of schools includes substantial integration, but only as an incidental ingredient and not as a sought for goal.

Black families learned early that one of the most effective ways to crystalize and legitimate segregation and discrimination was to deny access to quality education. Such denial leads to an inability to perform normatively in competitive situations. That this was true is revealed in Ashmore's 1952 study of *The Negro and the Schools*. Ashmore found noticeable discrepancies between the amount of money spent for the education of black and white children in southern states: an average of $164.83 for the education of one white pupil, compared with $115.08 or 70 percent of that amount for the education of each black child.[36] The amount of money spent per black pupil varied anywhere from 30 percent of what was spent per white pupil in Mississippi to 85 percent in North Carolina. In the same year the capital outlay per pupil for black schools in southern states was $29.58 or 82 percent of the $36.25 per white pupil.[3]

The simple fact is that racism is so pronounced, blacks are systematically denied equal access to educational self-enhancement, producing negative self-images for millions of black children. Such negative images were reinforced by high black absenteeism from school, poor teaching, inadequate library holdings.

Even the most casual observer can note that the dream of educational enhancement is not yet realized. Instead of the anticipated inclusion, blacks are still systematically excluded from the educational process. The positive consequences of mobility work

slower for blacks.

After struggling for years to demand decent public education, blacks have found that "public education" in this country is in serious trouble, particularly in the central cities they left the rural-urban South to achieve. In a speech to the South Carolina Education Association in Columbia, James A. Harris, then president of the National Education Association, painted a threatening picture with these facts:

1. There are nearly 2 million school-aged children who are not enrolled in school. Most live in large cities.
2. Of the students who are attending classes, more of them will spend some portion of their lives in correctional institutions of higher learning.
3. On any given school day, you will find 13,000 kids of school age in correctional institutions and another 100,000 in jail or police lockups.
4. Of every 100 students attending school across the nation, 23 drop out, 77 graduate from high school, 43 enter college, 21 receive a B.A., 6 earn an M.A., and 1 earns a Ph.D.
5. Crime and violence in central city schools are growing in unprecedented rates.
6. Many states now spend more money to incarcerate a child than to provide him with an education. In Iowa, for example, the state will pay $9,000 a year to maintain a student in a juvenile home, but only $1,050 a year for an ordinary student.

Percent of High School Dropouts by Race, Age and Place of Residence, October 1973[34]

	White	Black	Difference White-Black
Inner City:			
16-17 years old	10.7	10.1	0.6
18-19 years old	17.1	27.1	-10.0
20-21 years old	14.9	27.9	-13.0
Suburban:			
16-17 years old	6.6	8.8	-2.2
18-19 years old	12.0	20.6	-8.6
20-21 years old	10.8	29.8	-19.0
Rural:			
16-17 years old	10.8	11.8	-1.0
18-19 years old	16.2	24.5	-8.3
20-21 years old	16.4	37.6	-21.2

What are two-year and senior colleges doing to eliminate miseducation of blacks among rural and urban students? The answer is not much! The excuse is that black high school graduates are not available, and to some extent this is true. Whether one looks at rural or urban areas, the chances of being a high school dropout were twice as great or better for blacks as for whites. At all age levels, black females were the most likely candidates to be high school dropouts.[39]

The total high school availability pool in 1973 was 34,452,000 people, of which an estimated 10 percent were black (irregularities in census data suggest that the black pool is underestimated). Blacks equaled 11 percent of the population of those 16 to 34 years old without any college education.

Now, I believe that these data point to a clear cut role for colleges and universities (in particular local or regional junior colleges)—especially when we note that low fertility and mortality rates have combined to produce a population that, although increasing for many decades, will, by year 2030, have a larger proportion of elderly people and a smaller proportion of the young.

Dropping school enrollments have already forced educators to close schools and colleges and to search for new "markets." Montgomery county in Maryland, which lost 4,500 students this year and expects to see another drop of 4,500 in the fall, recently closed seven public schools; Columbia University, like hundreds of others, is beefing up adult education programs; county school districts in the suburbs are troubled by declining enrollments. I have already alluded to the fact that many colleges have discontinued construction of planned dormitories, new buildings, etc.

I believe that the innovative community/junior college will move to shift the traditional definition of the student pool to include the black and minority population as a viable, new market. This market can come from the already discussed problem areas that emanate from racism and also from the millions of blacks who, although denied access to the societal goods, never end up in prison statistics, drug statistics, etc.

The innovative community/junior college, like other public institutions of higher education, must realize that a key role of a public college, especially urban colleges, is to successfully and effectively deal with urban and rural problems. These concerns, while they have been systematically ignored, must undoubtedly expand in the future and must take us beyond the traditional roles of teaching, research and extension.

A new and fundamentally different function for the community/junior college will be to initiate dialogue between aca-

demicians and urban and rural practitioners, acting as facilitator, coordinator, catalyst, or change agent. They must lead the way in the activities that will prove highly beneficial in solving urban and rural ills.

The rural-urban college must assume its primary and historical functions.

1. The community/junior college must function as an educator of different types of people—primarily those who in the past have not met the normal standards for admission. Population source: the urban black, minorities and women.

2. The community/junior college, especially urban-rural-regional community/junior colleges, must successfully strive to maintain a truly balanced population among its students, faculty and employees. A public college must not restrict its enrollment such that it serves only the needs of certain types of people—thereby reinforcing lethal massive discrimination.

If blacks represent 33 percent of Tennessee's population then this same percentage should appear in Tennessee's community/junior college (as well as senior colleges).

One of the best ways for the community/junior college to realize its function is to educate and train significant numbers of central city dwellers so that they will be better able to deal with the problems of everyday life.

The community/junior college fails when these significant populations are ignored.

3. Community/junior colleges must provide different and more relevant types of education to prepare central city dwellers for life in cities and to deal with urban problems. Here I include student and faculty volunteer work in the community—the sending of students out into the community for part of their educational experience—and programs in African/Afro-American Studies.

4. Education of public, state officials and technologists who work in cities must be a responsibility of the community/junior college.

5. Continuing or extension education must be made more readily available by these colleges.

6. The role of colleges in educating para-professionals, new careerists, and the often referred to "hard-core" unemployed must be expanded.

If the community/junior college is to come to grips with the problems of tomorrow, an effort must be mounted to address questions of educational policy as well as matters of numerical significance. The community/junior college is a response to pro-

jected qualitative needs of the urban-rural dweller—living patterns, educational needs will be altered as pressures of urban technology, employment qualifications, social interactions, and, hopefully, economic betterment impinge upon the educational values and attitudes of the individual.

Access to higher education is no longer a privilege of middle America—the opportunity to attend college is a right of all citizens. It is a right because so many areas of our society require a college education in order to gain entry; a democratic society depends upon a well-educated public, and we must try to educate everyone to the maximum extent possible—even the disinterested, poorly equipped, and often overlooked rural-urban black.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See, for example, Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1920,* New York: Anchor Books, 1976; R.S. Baker, "The Negro Go North," *World's Work,* Vol. 34, July, 1917; Herman Bloch, "Labor and the Negro, 1866-1910," *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. 50, July, 1965; W.E.B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro,* New York: Blom, 1967; John Hope Franklin, "History of Racial Segregation" in Meier and Rudwick (eds.), *The Making of Black America;* E. Franklin Frazer, *The Negro in the United States* (rev. ed.), New York: MacMillan, 1957; L.V. Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward,* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1930; Gunnar Myrdal, *The American Dilemma,* New York: Harper, 1963; Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, Negro New York, 1890-1930,* New York: Harper & Row, 1966; William Pickens, *The New Negro,* New York: Negro Univ. Press, 1969.

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[5]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974," p. 13.

[6]Ibid., p. 15.

[7]These findings were revealed as early as 1963 and continue through 1974. See, C. Mayo and C. Horace Selz, "The Rural Negro Population of the South in Transition," *Phylon,* 1963, Vol. 24 (2), pp. 160-71.

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[28]Billingsley, p. 90.

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[30]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, p. 127.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., p. 122.

[33]*Current Population Report Series*, 1974, p. 106.

[34]Ibid.

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[36]Harry S. Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 153.

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Psycho-Social Characteristics of the Incarcerated

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My remarks are geared generally to the incarcerated, those who are inmates, psychiatric patients, or college students, and maybe even members of the military. However, I will focus on the inmate and only parenthetically refer to the other groups mentioned.

It is the thesis of this article that environments shape behavior to a great extent. Being processed through the Criminal Justice system and doing time in a correctional institution have a tremendous impact on the psycho-social characteristics of those persons so incarcerated. I am sorry that I cannot present some factor X that would discriminate criminals from noncriminals, but no data presented historically or any that I have found personally clearly delineate criminals from noncriminals in a psycho-social sense or any other. Of course, one reason why this is true is that all of our information on criminals comes from the failures* in the business, those who got caught. It is doubtful that they are typical of the criminal population in the United States today. Furthermore, self-report studies of crime reveal that those who get caught and incarcerated are generally poor, nonwhite, and ill-educated; not that these persons commit more crime, they are just those most likely to get caught and sentenced.

Graffiti on Prison Wall:
Don't commit the crime, if you can't do the time.

This article will be presented from two perspectives: (1) from books and articles that I have read, and (2) from personal experiences. The experiences will come from those that I have had at Brushy Mountain State Prison in Petros, Tennessee, Lakeshore Mental Health Institute in Knoxville, Tennessee, and Manatee Junior College in Bradenton, Florida.

I would first like to talk about the concept of an asylum as it relates especially to convicts but also to mental patients and college students. Asylums have been studied perhaps most thoroughly by Erving Goffman[1] and David Rothman.[2] Asylums do things

*A notable exception is Carl Klockars's *The Professional Fence.*

to people. They have structural or organizational effect. Their impact may be felt from the basic architectural design to the behavioral interactions which occur within them. I will list these characteristics of the asylum or total institution and describe their impact on inmates, mental patients, and students.

The Institution

1. Every institution captures the time and interest of its members. It has encompassing tendancies.
2. The encompassing or total characte· of the institution is symbolized by barriers to social interaction with the outside world.
3. All aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Barriers separating sleep, play, and work are broken down.
4. Each phase of the members' daily activities is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same things together.
5. The various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution.
6. The chief function of institutional personnel is surveillance, not guidance.
7. Staff see inmates in terms of narrow stereotypes, and inmates see staff in the same way.
8. All needs of the inmates are handled bureaucratically.

These eight characteristics establish the type of setting which the inmate must face upon entering the prison, psychiatric hospital, or school. Please note that these are ideal characteristics and may approach reality from various dimensions.

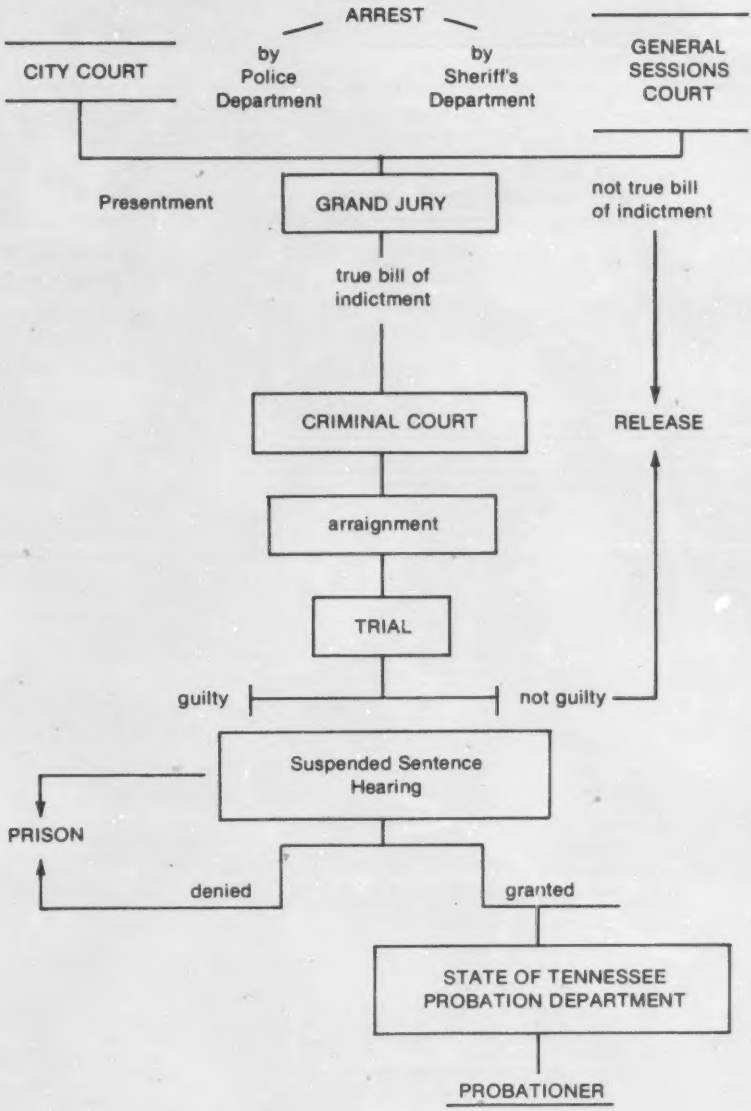
Entrance into the inmate culture of the prison has occurred after individuals have completed the following journey:

1. Arrest—with or without a warrant
2. Preliminary Hearing
3. Grand Jury
4. Arraignment
5. Trial
6. Appeal

See Figure I.

Various "escape" routes are presented in this schema, and the inmates, once they have arrived at the institution, have either tried them all or never knew about them to begin with. Generally the inmates are bewildered by what they have just been through, and their easing into the prison population through classification is generally not a smooth one.

FIGURE I



(SOURCE: Daniel Glaser's *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System)*

Once sentence has been set by the judge and probation is not granted, offenders are sent from the county or city jail where they were arrested, though generally they are transferred to the county jail awaiting transfer to the state's main prison for classification. Classification generally lasts three weeks. During this time the offenders' personalities and needs, as well as ages, number of prior offenses, and types of offenses, are taken into consideration in deciding which one of the state's institutions they will be sent to.

The types of institutions within the state usually include one for youthful offenders—those 18-25 years of age, and those who are generally first offenders. A maximum security institution for those deemed too dangerous to be in open population or who have been in trouble with guards or with other inmates in a different institution is also available. Then, of course, there is the state's main prison to which the individual may be sent from the classification unit. There is also at least one institution that is geared to farming to which the offenders may be sent. Once the offenders are housed in one of these institutions, they become convicts, inmates, or residents, depending on the role they choose to assume.

Each institution has its differences, but there are certain similarities which tend to hold for all. It is these all-encompassing characteristics which Goffman had in mind in *Asylums*. Regardless of the orientation of the institution as "custodially" oriented or "treatment" oriented, there are certain commonalities that exist within the institution according to Goffman.

The idea of adaptation to prison conditions being counterproductive to rehabilitation is certainly radical and bears further investigation. The most that has been said to this point is that certain inmates become prisonized[3] during their incarceration.

When the court has sentenced a man/woman to prison for armed robbery for ten years, the public assumes that he/she will be there for ten years. However, this is not always the case. Through good, honor, and incentive time, the convict may serve his/her sentence in a considerably shorter period of time. These devices are probably essential to the smooth running of the institution and gaining the acquiescence of the inmate, but it is confusing and maddening to the public when they see the man/woman they know went to prison for ten years out on the street in what seems to them a very short time.

It is the policy of the Tennessee Department of Corrections that all available resources be directed toward the correction of the offender. In this connection the good and honor time program will be used as a positive factor in encouraging inmates to establish good behavior patterns, attitudes, and habits. Each inmate entering the

system will have a thorough orientation on the program in order that he/she may more fully understand what will be expected of him/her and as a result be motivated toward better behavior patterns.

Each inmate entering the Tennessee penal system will be placed in an honor grade, and honor time accrued starts as of the date of sentence. This will permit him/her to secure two months of honor time for each year of his/her sentence served, so long as his/her behavior and attitude remain good and he/she does not violate prison rules and regulations. Such violations will result in loss of honor time.

Residents will be eligible for incentive time at the beginning of the first grading period after they complete classification. Those who attend school will receive incentive time provided they attend regularly, make an effort in participation, and have no disciplinary convictions. Those facilities that have privileged visiting areas will award these privileges to those men/women who qualify for incentive time provided their security requirements are suitable. Privileged housing will be governed in the same manner.[4] However, as can be seen in the following memorandum, the availability of housing facilities presents a difficult problem.

RE: Emergency Restoration of Good and/or Honor Time

The Department of Correction is in a desperate situation regarding overcrowding of institutions. The population is at an all time high and climbing each day. Currently, the Tennessee State Penitentiary has 2601 residents. Every effort must be made to reduce this population.

Beginning immediately each institution will prepare a list of all residents who have lost Good and/or Honor time more than ninety days ago. Those who have not had discipline *convictions* during this time will be considered for restoration of lost Good and/or Honor time.

The Behavioral Review Committee at each facility will work full-time on reviewing the residents on the list. Please give this effort priority attention.

Residents who would qualify for immediate release if time restoration is made should be considered first.

Please make every effort to have this work completed and your committee recommendations signed and in this office as soon as possible.

Your usual cooperation is appreciated.

Coupled with this problem is the reality that today every inmate in Tennessee comes out on ninety-day mandatory release (ninety days before sentence is complete). This too is because of overcrowded conditions existing within the state institutions. Generally the convicts do not favor this release plan because if they violate during this ninety-day release period, all good and honor time is lost. The concept of sentencing, release, and good and honor time play a major role in the criminal justice system and touch it at several levels. Figure II shows how good and honor time is computed.

FIGURE II

Sentence	Honor Time	Good Time	Sentence Built In
1 year	2 months	1 month	0 years 9 months
2 years	4 months	3 months	1 year 5 months
3 years	6 months	6 months	2 years 0 months
4 years	8 months	9 months	2 years 7 months
5 years	10 months	12 months	3 years 2 months
6 years	12 months	15 months	3 years 9 months
7 years	14 months	18 months	4 years 4 months
8 years	16 months	21 months	4 years 11 months
9 years	18 months	24 months	5 years 6 months
10 years	20 months	27 months	6 years 1 month

99 years is built in 50 years and 7 months. This applies to Tennessee State Prisons only.

Honor Time—2 months of each year of the term of sentence

Good Time— 1 month first year
3 months each year to 10 years
4 months each year thereafter

(SOURCE: Tennessee State Department of Correction)

The concept of the indeterminate sentence, as it is illustrated above, is yet another topic worthy of further in-depth discussion.

Adult prisons for women are not as numerous, so there tends to be one central institution for all adult female offenders. This is certainly due to the much smaller numbers of female offenders as compared with male offenders. However, recent statistics show female crime to be catching up to that of male crime. This may be a dubious product of women's liberation as well as other social factors.

Women in prison tend to adapt much the same as men do except that their homosexual behavior is much more family oriented with "extended" families being formed. Homosexual behavior in men's prisons tends to be much more episodic and does not have the family orientation of that of the female inmates. Not much is known about the prison life of women, but Rose Gialombardo's[5] *Society of Women* is an excellent starting point for the reader interested in women's prisons.

Adult prisons for both men and women are the subject of much controversy regarding their success as rehabilitation agents. Perhaps the strongest attacks on the abysmal failure of prisons and correctional schools as rehabilitative agents have been leveled by Robert Martinson.[6]

Once in the institution, the inmate may adapt to one of several argot roles[7]: (1) Gorilla—a man who plays the role of gorilla finds coercion or the threat of coercion a potent weapon. The blatant readiness for the instrumental use of violence rather than his strength or size sets the gorilla off from other inmate roles; (2) Merchant—a man so alienated from other prisoners that he is willing to thrive on the misery of his companions; (3) Homosexual roles ("gal boys")—wolves, aggressive roles, and fags or punks—passive roles; (4) Ball Busters—"this kind of con is always giving the screws a hard time"; he strikes out at authority in open defiance of stated rules; (5) Real Man—"the prisoner who pulls his own time"; he confronts his captors with neither subservience nor aggression; (6) Tough—he is quick to quarrel with his fellow inmates. The tough is generally regarded with a curious mixture of fear and respect by his fellow inmates; (7) Hipster—the inmate who pretends to be tougher than he really is.

The argot role of the prison reflects the personality of the inmate who employs it, as well as the conflicts and tensions inherent in the institutional setting. A delineation of the argot roles allows for determination of a map of the inmate social system. These seven argot roles all are social roles in which, generally speaking, the inmate attempts to reduce the rigors of prison life at the expense of fellow prisoners. It will be most helpful to the correctional and parole officers to know which argot role the inmate is adopting in developing a treatment plan for him/her. Education is certainly one of the core areas of any treatment plan.

Education in Prisons

A question that anyone at this conference might ask is, "Isn't it true that a correctional facility running a truly rehabilitative program, one that prepares inmates for life on the outside through education and vocational training, will turn out more successful individuals than will a prison which merely leaves its inmates to rot?" The answers have not been what penologists had hoped for. The following paragraphs may well illustrate why.

Education behind the walls usually is not a first choice for an inmate because of several reasons. First he sees it as an effeminate enterprise. Secondly, his values are generally anti-intellectual, and, thirdly, he has had conflicts throughout his school history, regardless of how short it was. Finally, schooling is generally a distant second choice from "shop" training. Schools in many instances were originally set up to keep inmates busy and because "shop programs were too full."[8] Many times the school was not providing information that would be useful to the inmate on the "outside."

This, of course, is true of the shops also and their penchant for making license plates.

The following traits typify prison schools in adult male institutions.

1. Prison schools teach mainly educationally retarded students who have a history of hostility toward school.

2. Inmate students come and go at all times of the year, rather than at the beginning and end of school terms.

3. The prison creates unusual incentives and opportunities for corruption of the educational process.

4. The prison school is expected to justify itself, at least in part, by its effects on recidivism.

Results from one study[9] show some surprising and disappointing results regarding participation in prison education and recidivism rates (returning to crime). Higher failure rates for inmates in prison education than for those out of these programs were found not because the educational programs were harmful but because of the operation of several other factors. (1) One should note that officials make an especially great effort to place inmates in school below their presumed mental capacity, especially those with normal intelligence who have not gone through the eighth grade. These inmates may be particularly poor risks as far as prospects for post-release success are concerned. They may benefit some from the prison education, but in spite of this, especially in a short prison term, they are likely to have low prospects for economic self-sufficiency or legitimate employment on the outside. (2) Sometimes education competes with other activities which may be more rehabilitative than school for some inmates. Perhaps many prisoners in school would have particularly benefitted from a prison industry, which generally is not assigned simultaneously with prison education although it could be simultaneous. This points out the importance of fitting the appropriate treatment method to the individual prisoner. (3) If prison education is frequently seen by inmates as a program to be pursued mainly for the purpose of favorably impressing the parole board, those who enroll may include many inmates who are insincere in self-improvement and interest, and who are relatively poor parole risks. (4) It is very possible that a little learning is a dangerous thing in prison as prison education may markably raise an inmate's vocational aspirations without in most cases appreciably increasing his capacity to satisfy these aspirations upon release. This is notably presented by Robert Merton[10] in his Strain Theory of the Means/ Goals Dilemma. I might say, in my experiences, especially in working with juvenile offenders, that his Means/Goals Dilemma is one of the best

explanatory paradigms I have seen. The best that can be said for prison education is that it promotes adjustment to the institution. This concept will be discussed further throughout this article.

Despite all of these problems, several educators at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, along with educational personnel from the Department of Correction and the Department of Mental Health, have put together an educational program for the Brushy Mountain State Prison at Petros. If money ever becomes available, hopefully this total package will be put into practice.

Highlights of this educational package are the following:

I. Goals
   A. To reduce recidivism
   B. To increase the quality of prison life
   C. To provide needed services
   D. To treat the whole person
   E. To provide a more constructive way of doing time

II. Implementation of Goals
   A. Cooperation and integration of services
      1. Police, courts, institution, parole
      2. Possible decriminalization of certain behaviors
   B. Counseling—job, interpersonal skills
   C. Education—basic education, reading and writing skills, preparation for GED, college courses; start with the basics and move from there.
   D. Special Education—would include those who are retarded and who might more appropriately belong in mental health facilities.
   E. Community involvement—reintegration
   F. Family visitation and counseling
   G. Aftercare; coordination with work-release and parole

III. Educational Groups
   A. Affective learning—changing of attitudes and *behavior*
   B. Vocational-technical training—vocational-technical school of Morgan County
   C. Basic reading, writing, arithmetic
   D. GED preparation—designed for those who have at least ninth grade reading and writing skills
   E. College work (A.A., B.A.)—select few: already have some college experience or high degree of motivation for college study

Groups B, C, D, and E will all participate in Group A, affective learning.

After-Care—Adults and Juveniles

After-care is a central part of corrections both for juveniles and adults. For adults no euphemism is used; after-care is called parole. In most states every person comes out on some type of parole plan, usually referred to as an accelerated discharge program. Because of over-crowded conditions, no one tends to come out on flat time

(completed total sentence), but rather with a minimum of ninety days parole time.

The type of supervision that is given on parole varies by institutions and probation and parole departments. While on parole the man or woman is subject to a great many pressures, and he/she may violate parole in one of two ways: (1) by committing a new crime whereby the entire Criminal Justice procedure begins anew, or (2) by violating rules of parole. Each after-care program has a Parole Hearings Officer. If the officer decides that there is probable cause that a violation was committed, then the offender is referred to the Parole Board where he/she is either returned to prison and loses good and honor time already built or, if found innocent, returned to parole. The vast majority at this stage are returned to prison for the commission of new offenses. That is, parole boards generally try to work with the person and his/her environment in trying to help him/her work out problems rather than to send him/her back to the penitentiary for a technical violation. It is in this fashion that recidivism rates are determined. The breakdown of new crimes as opposed to parole violation is approximately 80 percent new crimes and 20 percent violations for adults and the reverse, 20 percent new crimes and 80 percent violations, for juveniles. (See Figure III-D.) Thus, evaluation of the success of the criminal justice system, realizing that the individual has come through the system in its entirety at this point, is right before the public's eye. When a person fails on after-care or parole, it may be due to a myriad of social, psychological, or political factors. The failures show in parole but they may be due to problems that arose at any of the four levels of organizational processing within the criminal justice system. These four levels are presented more thoroughly in a paper by Kronick entitled, "A Trip with Alice (Alex) in Wonderland."[11]

After-care and parole caseloads are gigantic, averaging sixty-five cases per counselor. It is, therefore, no wonder so little counseling or treatment is possible, but merely crisis intervention.

Nonetheless, Martinson[12] has stated that caseload size is meaningless and that violations even increase with smaller caseloads. Of course, what this means is that closer supervision is possible with these smaller caseloads, and the detection of violations becomes much easier.

A look at the following caseload sizes and repeated violations, both technical and new offenses for juveniles and adults, should give some insight to what after-care and parole caseload sizes look like and how violations occur, at least in sixteen counties in East Tennessee. No generalizations to other areas of the United States are necessarily implied.

FIGURE III

A. New Intake for Year 1976 (by Sex).

Month	*Male*	*Female*
January	25	5
February	37	11
March	32	14
April	34	14
May	41	7
June	38	3
July	25	14
August	26	9
September	20	11
October	34	8
November	38	7
December	40	8
TOTAL	390	111

B. Total Number of Probation and After-Care Caseload by Month in 1976.

Month	*Probation*	*After-Care*	*(Institution-Community)*	
January	257	468	240	228
February	265	460	247	213
March	270	468	272	196
April	282	473	274	199
May	290	490	199	291
June	283	487	201	286
July	274	480	199	281
August	270	468	199	269
September	266	475	223	252
October	270	493	212	281
November	279	489	227	262
December	289	504	247	257
AVERAGE	274.6	479.6	228.3	251.3

C. Recidivism (by Numbers) in 1976.

Month	*Probation*	*After-Care*
January	0	8
February	5	11
March	4	21
April	2	12
May	9	9
June	4	16
July	3	15
August	2	10
September	4	19
October	5	17
November	3	22
December	7	16
TOTAL	48	176

D. Recidivism Rate by Month in 1976.

Month	*Probation*	*After-Care*
January	0.00%	3.41%
February	1.81%	5.16%
March	1.40%	10.70%
April	0.71%	6.03%
May	3.10%	3.10%
June	1.06%	5.50%
July	1.10%	5.30%
August	0.74%	3.72%
September	1.50%	4.00%
October	1.85%	6.04%
November	1.08%	7.61%
December	2.42%	6.22%
TOTAL	16.77%	66.79%
AVERAGE	1.40%	5.57%

NOTE: C and D include new offenses and department violations.
(SOURCE: Tennessee State Department of Corrections)

FIGURE IV

After-Care Violations Filed by Counselor (by Offense).

Offense	*Males*	*Females*
Failure to adjust to foster care	3	2
Run away from home (including foster home)	26	46
Curfew and late hours	1	7
Failure to obey rules of after-care	1	1
Traffic violations	1	0
Truancy	12	1
Paint sniffing	1	0
Leaving Freedom House	3	1
Drugs	1	1
Alcohol	2	0
Abscond from Riverbend	1	0
Abscond from Barret Hall	0	3
Auto Larceny	3	0
Breaking and entering	1	0
TOTAL	56	62

Probation: 275 cases
48 violations
48/275 = 17%
48 + 176 = 224 violations

After-care: 479 cases
176 violations
176/479 = 36%
New offenses 58/176 = 32%
Violations 118/176 = 68%
176 recommitted
118 violations
58 new offenses

(SOURCE: Tennessee State Department of Corrections)

These figures reveal two interesting facts: (1) females were "violators" more often than males; (2) violations were most often for running away from home, a status offense!

It is this author's contention that community alternatives to incarceration such as parole or some forms of pretrial diversion which utilize the community in some fashion will increase. This will be true if for no other reason than the fact that courts and institutions are too crowded to handle these cases effectively.

Conclusions and Suggestions

In terms of improving the system the following suggestions should prove helpful:

1. From the court's perspective two changes should bring about some immediate relief:
   a. Eliminate the variety of ways in which delays may be granted either before or during the trial. From a behavioral

point of view there must be some linkage between the offense and the punishment. If time delays are permitted here, correlation between behavior and response is lost. Hence the behavior is bound to continue. A collateral aspect of this problem is the fact that so little education/information is provided to the individuals while they are being processed through the system and they quite often never understand what is happening to them.

b. The second area of concern that is in need of change is sentencing. Uniformity of sentencing would do away with a great deal of confusion which exists in the court system today. Fines, sentences, and suspended sentences for the same offenses only serve to muddle the efficient running of the court and the criminal justice system.

2. It must be realized that settings have a strong impact on human behavior and that the very nature of prison settings has a strong deleterious effect on both inmates and guards. A study by Zimbardo[13] showed the oppressive roles taken by student-guards and the passive roles taken by student-inmates. Zimbardo was forced to stop the experiment after six days because of the horrible effect which he saw taking place. Thus the very nature of the prison setting itself is deleterious to treatment and rehabilitation. Only a small percentage of individuals need to be incarcerated, and putting others in with them only serves to make this latter group come out worse than when they went in.

3. For true correctional reform to take place it should not be tied into the existing power structure. Real change probably will come from those who are not part of the system, and they should be allowed to grow and prosper rather than to be co-opted or beaten down. The key concept here is decentralization—the creation of smaller units to treat clients and an emphasis on community-based treatment programs.

What must be answered finally is whether the criminal justice system processing reduces the crime rate in any significant sense, or does nothing really work?!!

I hope this article has somewhat enlightened you and that it will cause you to get involved because, as the FRAM Oil Filter ad says, "You can pay me now or you can pay me later." Certainly education at the community college and senior college levels has a great deal to offer in this endeavor.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erving Goffman, *Asylums* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961).
2. David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971).
3. Donald Clemmer, *The Prison Community* (New York: Rinehart, 1958).
4. Policy Memo #41, State of Tennessee, Department of Correction, March 19, 1976.
5. Rose Gialombardo, *Society of Women* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).
6. Robert Martinson, "What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform," *The Public Interest*, Spring 1974, pp. 22-54.
7. Greshman Sykes, *The Society of Captives* (New York: Atheneum, 1966).
8. Daniel Glaser, *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p. 274.
9. S.J. Saden, "Correctional Research at Jackson Prison," *Journal of Correctional Education*, 15, No. 4 (October 1962), 22-26.
10. Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1957).
11. Robert F. Kronick, "The Criminal Justice System: A Trip with Alice (Alex) in Wonderland," Unpublished paper, March 1977.
12. Martinson, pp. 22-54.
13. P. Zimbardo, "Psychological Power and Pathology of Imprisonment" in *Behavior Disorders*, eds. Robert G. Walker and Ohmer Milton (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1973).

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